

A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN REICHSTAG ELECTIONS 1919-1939:
WITH EMPHASIS ON THE RISE TO POWER OF THE NSDAP

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

About ninety million Germans live in the center of Europe. They are the largest group with a single language on the continent outside the borders of the Soviet Union. The prewar German Reich, with about seventy million persons dwelling inside its political jurisdiction, had been for more than fifty years the most populous of the nation-states of the West, except for Russia and America. Due to the skill of its generals and soldiers, the genius of its scientists and technicians, the efficiency of its capitalists and merchants, the initiative and industry of its business and professional men, the thrift and sturdiness of its peasants and workers, Germany became the most prosperous and most powerful of the European Nations. Today, however, Germany is a heap of rubble, beaten, broken and at the mercy of the world as a result of the policies of the Weimar Republic and the Hitler regime.

The purpose of this paper is (1) to trace, through the Reichstag elections from 1919 to 1933, the rise to

power in Germany of one Adolf Hitler,¹ member and leader of the National Socialist German Workers' Party;² (2) to present evidence showing that Hitler was never elected by a majority of the German voting public, but that he gained power by plot and default; (3) to show that he could not have gained control of the government except for his propaganda program, with its terrific psychological impact upon the people, aided by the coercion, with his militaristic organizations, of all who did not enter into his plans, especially the coercion and extermination of those who threatened his position in any way, and also by the economic crisis coming at an opportune time, especially in view of the extremely harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty; (4) to show that the Weimar Constitution was weak and inadequate, and that it was of invaluable assist-

¹ Konrad Heiden, Der Fuehrer (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944); Emil Lengyel, Hitler (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1932). See picture on page 218 of Appendix.

² The English translation of the term Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, which will usually be referred to in this paper as the NSDAP. The slang usage is Nazi. Franz Neumann, Behemoth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 530-39; Konrad Heiden, A History of National Socialism (Translated from the German; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935), pp. XV, XVI.

ance to Hitler in the establishing of a totalitarian state, especially the President's "emergency powers" provision, the "proportional representation" provision, the National government without any effective system of checks and balances, and without judicial review; (5) to show that the German people, as well as their government officials, were not prepared and did not have the proper background for democratic government, and that they (the people) were disgusted with the poor leadership of the Weimar Republic, and with the democratic experiment in general; and (6) to show that the great majority of the people had no voice at all in the government from 1933 to 1939 when Germany seized Czechoslovakia, and made other territorial aggressions. The field is a very broad one. However, I hope to prove the points as stated above by concentrating largely on the history of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, their participation in the Reichstag elections during this period, the election issues, by showing the weakness of the governmental structure, and how Hitler and his party took advantage of the weak spots, and by using considerable illustrative material in the appendix. The above six premises can be shown in the elections and election campaigns from 1919 to 1933.

The primary source material is at present somewhat

limited, because of the various restrictions placed upon writing and publishing during the period of the Third Reich, 1933 to 1945, and to the wanton destruction of vast amounts of documentary materials during the Hitler regime. There is an ample, one might even say an overabundant, supply of materials which were written by the NSDAP party members, and fellow-travelers, and which were published and stored in the NSDAP archives. Some of this material is extremely valuable for historical uses, but most of it is quite colored and biased.

Our first observation will be a brief and somewhat sketchy comparison of the Weimar Constitution with those of the United States, of France, and of England. Our chief aim will be to see if we can perceive the reason for the utter failure of the Weimar Constitution as a guarantee of democracy. Under the Weimar Constitution it was possible for Hitler³ to receive dictatorial powers for four years in 1933. The said Constitution provided

³ Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) was a German chancellor and Fuehrer (leader). He served in World War 1 in a Bavarian regiment and received the Iron Cross. He became a reactionary leader in Bavaria, and with six other persons founded, 1919-20, the National Socialist German Workers' Party. He became the editor of the party's organ Der Voelkische Beobachter in 1922. He got the support of Ludendorff, and with him and others organized the unsuccessful Munich revolt of November 8-9, 1923, known as the "Beer Hall Putsch." He was sentenced to five years' imprison-

Germany with a Federal type of government. On paper "The Weimar Federation" gave the appearance of having recognized national and state governments, and the national government had only certain reserved powers. Here, however, the similarity to the Bismarckian Federation stopped. The Weimar Constitution listed so many and such extensive powers for the national or federal government that it left little or no guaranteed power to the separate states. The residual power was with the federal

ment, but was paroled in 1924 after nine months. In prison he dictated to his secretary, Rudolf Hess, Mein Kampf ("My Battle"). He greatly increased the strength of the NSDAP between 1928 and 1932. He opposed Hindenburg as candidate in the presidential election of 1932, but was defeated. He was brought into power in 1933, on a rising tide of German Nationalism and economic discontent. He was appointed chancellor by Hindenburg in January 1933, and gained control of the Reichstag. In March 1933, he was granted dictatorial powers for four years by the Reichstag, through constitutional amendments. When Hindenburg died in August 1934, the office of President and chancellor were combined, and he became "Der Fuehrer." He initiated a violent anti-Semitic policy, established a new economic program, and broke the conditions of the Versailles Treaty by rearming Germany in preparation for carrying out his program as set forth in Mein Kampf. He reoccupied the Rhineland zone in March 1936; annexed Austria in March 1938, the Sudetenland in October 1938, and all of Czechoslovakia in March 1939; made a nonaggression pact with Russia in August 1939; and by invading Poland in September 1939 he brought on a general war, conquering Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France in 1940, Greece and Yugo-Slavia in 1941, and invading Russia in June 1941.

government.⁴ The Weimar Constitution gave the national government exclusive federal power. It also provided for concurrent federal and state powers in which, however, the federal law was always superior. Some rights were ordinarily given to the states; however, they could be withdrawn or demanded by the national government at will.⁵ In Germany the national government controlled the local bureaucracy. The local agents carried out the orders and directives of the national government. This resulted in a unitary government with a thinly veiled federal idea, in practice.

Supposedly, supremacy in the Weimar Republic rested with the Reichstag. Unity of the government and the Reichstag could not be replaced by legislative government.⁶ This necessary coherence could only be attained under a two party system. Under a multi-party system the majority public opinion might be ignored by the coalitions. The vote in the Reichstag was by party blocs. Thus the votes

⁴ Federalism can exist in any kind of government, totalitarian and democratic; Herbert Kraus, The Crisis of German Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), pp. 179-83, Articles 5-17 of the Weimar Constitution. Cf. with the powers of the states provided in the German Constitution of 1871.

⁵ Ibid., p. 182, Articles 12, 13 of the Weimar Constitution.

⁶ France is a good example, if one looks at the many

were split up, and no party had a majority; therefore, a coalition had to be formed which defeated the will of the voting public. Regardless of what the people voted for or against, the government was always the same.

The proportional representation provision also made it possible for the minor parties to receive representation and weight entirely out of proportion to the popular vote, thus making for irresponsible and ineffectual government.⁷ There was a lack of close relationship between the elector and the legislature, which bred contempt for parliamentary government.

coalitions which have been made and dissolved during the period of the Third Republic. See Appendix, p. 184, for a list of the many chancellors of the Weimar Republic who headed as many coalitions.

⁷ The proportional representation system in Germany was a peculiar type to that country. It was not the type which had been proposed by the English reformer, Thomas Hare, which advocated giving each class of voters in the electorate representation in proportion to its numerical strength. The German system was supposed to give one representative in the Reichstag for every 60,000 popular votes received by the various political parties. The unused votes on the lower levels of government were passed up to the next higher unit until they reached the national level. There the various parties took the first names on their national candidates list for additional Reichstag representatives at the rate of one for approximately each 60,000 votes. It will be shown later how it took some parties more votes to get a representative than it did other parties.

The President had an extremely powerful position. He was given the power to dissolve the Reichstag,⁸ and to call for new elections at will. Article 48 in the Weimar Constitution gave the President two types of power, one concerning the states and one concerning the people. He could set aside all of the civil liberties when, in his opinion, order and security were endangered. He could also restrict the powers of the state governments.⁹

Amendments to the constitution were easily made. All that was necessary to amend the constitution was a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag vote if two-thirds of the legal total members were present at the time the vote was taken.¹⁰ Thus, a simple law passed by a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag became a part of the constitution, and that was the final word, except for a possible referendum to the people, because the courts did not have the

⁸ Kraus, op. cit., p. 185, Article 25 of the Weimar Constitution.

⁹ Ibid., p. 190, Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 195, Article 76 of the Weimar Constitution.

right of judicial review.

We should note the fact that the Weimar Republic was established under very unfavorable circumstances, and it was constantly faced with difficult tasks, both domestic and foreign. It had neither effective leaders nor a leading party. Its politically dominant party was moderate, and inexperienced in the democratic process. Anti-Republican elements held important positions in the government. The old imperial bureaucracy was depended on for administrators, even though the bureaucrats hated the Republic and conspired against it. The standing army was allowed to become an independent force, instead of being subordinated to the civil authority. The Weimar government allowed such complete freedom of expression and action that its opponents were able to create contempt for it and to plot against it.

In order fully to understand and evaluate the political parties of Germany from 1919 to 1933, one first must look at a political panorama of the German Empire, 1871-¹¹ 1918. First, one should review the old Conservative Party,

¹¹ Alois Hundhammer, Staatsbuergerliche Vortraege fuer die Jugend (Regensburg: Verlag der katholischen Burschenvereine, 1930), pp. 43-48. S. William Halperin, Germany Tried Democracy (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1946), pp. 11, 25, 33, 46, 58, 61.

which was made up largely of Prussian Junkers,¹² who were anti-Semitic. They advocated government interference in order to keep the workers weak in political and economic matters. Their main interest was in Prussia, and Germany came second in importance. Secondly, there was the National Liberal Party,¹³ which was a little further to the left. This was the free enterprise party. Thirdly, there was the Center party,¹⁴ which was an anachronism. This was the only party based on the religious factor. The idea of the formation of a Catholic Party antedates the ascent of the empire, but it was fear of Catholic annihilation by Prussian protestantism which caused the Catholics to unite. The Center Party was the only party with class cross sections. It embraced trade unions, industrialists, conservatives, and nationalists. At the polls, its political strength was quite foreseeable, and it had ties on

¹² Junkers, were the landed aristocracy in Prussia who have been traditionally the upholders of Prussian monarchy. At first they were suspicious of Bismarck, but later they became his chief supporters in his plans for the unification of Germany, 1871.

¹³ Hundhammer, op. cit., pp. 39-43. Halperin, op. cit., pp. 12-13, 25-26, 28-34, 46, 58, 61.

¹⁴ Hundhammer, op. cit., pp. 78-84. Halperin, op. cit., pp. 14-16, 25-36, 46, 54, 61, 183.

both the left and on the right. Lastly, there was the Social Democratic Party,¹⁵ which was to the left of the Center Party. This party emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It embraced many trade unions, which placed a great emphasis on political aspects.

World War 1 ended a "happy" period in Germany. The comfortable beliefs of the nineteenth century were placed under doubtful scrutiny.

After November 7-8, 1918, brought an end to the Empire the political parties were as follows: the Social Democratic Party consisted of three groups, namely, Majority Socialists, those who were faithful to the party and its leaders; Independent Socialists, whose leaders were Haase¹⁶ and Ledebour,¹⁷ and the Irreconcilable Socialists,

¹⁵ Hundhammer, op. cit., pp. 57-66. Halperin, op. cit., pp. 16-35.

¹⁶ Hugo Haase (1863-1919) was a German Socialist leader, who succeeded Bebel as president of the German Social Democratic Party. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1897. He disagreed with the Majority war policy in 1914-15. In 1917, he organized and led the Independent Socialist Party. He was hostile to the government and spread propaganda credited with inspiring the naval mutiny in August 1918. He was a member of the coalition cabinet in November and December 1918, and he was assassinated in 1919.

¹⁷ Georg Ledebour, who was born in 1850, was a German Socialist. He was a Social Democratic member of

who were opposed to the war from the start and who wanted a German Soviet Republic.¹⁸ The latter group was led by Karl Liebknecht¹⁹ and Rosa Luxemburg.²⁰ They called themselves Spartacists.²¹

the Reichstag, 1900-1918. He went with the left wing of his party in the opposition of war credits in World War I, 1914. He participated in the Revolution of 1918, and took part in the Communist revolt in Berlin in 1919. He joined the new Socialist Labor Party in 1931.

¹⁸ George Young, The New Germany (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), pp. 16, 17.

¹⁹ Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919) was a lawyer and a Communist leader. He was a member of the German Reichstag in 1912. He violently opposed Germany's policy, 1913-14, leading to World War I. After the war broke out, he organized antiwar demonstrations, 1915-16. He was arrested and given two years' penal servitude, 1916-18. On release from prison, 1918, he took leadership, with Rosa Luxemburg, of the Spartacus Party and was involved in the Spartacist insurrection, January, 1919. He was arrested, and murdered while being transferred from military headquarters in West Berlin to prison, January 15, 1919.

²⁰ Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919) was known as "Red Rosa." She was a German Socialist agitator. She was associated with Karl Liebknecht as a leader of the Spartacus Party. She was involved with him in the Spartacist insurrection. She was, also, arrested, and killed.

²¹ Spartacists or Spartacus Party was a group of extreme German Socialists. They were powerful at the end of World War I under the leadership of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. This name was used as a pseudonym by Liebknecht in his anti-government, anti-war pamphlets (issued 1916-18, for which he was convicted of 'war-treason'). It suggested a revolt of wage slaves and proletariat rule of the Bolshevik type. The movement was broken up, in

Prince Max von Baden²² handed the government over to Ebert.²³ The Government rested with the Council of Representatives of Soldiers and Workers. Thus there existed a pure soviet type of government. The Communists,

January 1919, when its leaders were murdered. It got its name from Spartacus, a shepherd of Thrace, who was sold as a slave and taken to Rome as a gladiator. He escaped in 73 B. C. to the crater of Vesuvius, and incited other slaves to join him in a fight for freedom. He was successful for two years. His force of some 100,000 men invaded and ravaged southern Italy. He was killed at Calabria in an engagement with Roman forces under Crassus, who captured his followers, crucifying 6000 of them. The German Spartacists started out as Socialists, but they later turned Communist. Theodore F. Abel, Why Hitler Came to Power (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1938), p. 19.

²² Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm Maximilian (1867-1929) was the heir presumptive to the grand ducal throne of Baden. He was the president of the Baden diet, 1907-18. During World War I, he did much to improve the conditions of British prisoners in Germany and of German prisoners in Russia. On the collapse of the German military system, October 1918, he was appointed imperial chancellor. He initiated negotiations for armistice and insisted that the kaiser abdicate. He resigned the government to the socialist leader Ebert, November 1918. Abel, op. cit., pp. 12-16.

²³ Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925) was the German Social Democratic leader and first president of the German Reich, 1919-25. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1912, and became president of the party in 1913. He joined the party demand for peace and abdication of the kaiser in 1918. On the downfall of the government, he was appointed chancellor in place of Prince Max of Baden. He was opposed by the Spartacists. In February 1919, he was elected president by the National Assembly at Weimar. In 1920, he suppressed the Kapp Putsch, and in 1923, he suppressed the attempt of Hitler and Ludendorff to establish a dictatorship in Bavaria.

however, did not gain the upper hand. Ebert and Scheidemann²⁴ wanted a Democratic and not a Communist government. Until 1920 the Right and middle of the road parties did not exist. The fight was within the Left's left and right wing. The right wing eventually won. It prevented the radical left from taking over the government. However, this brought about a split in the Socialist ranks. The Majority Social Democrats believed in Democracy. They wanted a constitutional assembly where the left wing wouldn't have a majority. But that wing wanted a Socialist (Communist) revolutionary government. The left was not content with its defeat at the polls and in the Council, but tried a revolution. Ebert kept contact, however, with the regular army, and called for its help. The army thus came back into its own, and cooperated with the government, but never actually came under the government's control.

²⁴ Philipp Scheidemann (1865-1939) was a German political leader. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1898. During World War I, 1914-18, he consistently but futilely urged a compromise for peace. In October 1918, he was a member of the cabinet formed by Prince Max of Baden. After the Emperor had fled to the Netherlands, Scheidemann, as the people's commissioner, proclaimed the establishment of the republic and was elected first Prime Minister. He resigned office when the National Assembly accepted the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. When the Nazis came to power, Scheidemann fled into exile, and died in Copenhagen.

The policy of Democracy suffered utter defeat through or because of the actions of Ebert and Noske.²⁵

Ebert called for elections. The Weimar Coalition came into being, and consisted of the Social Democratic, Center, and Democratic parties. The National Assembly was called not in Berlin, but in Weimar, in order to take it away from Potsdam and the imperial tradition, and place it in a center of German culture. Its constitution was a political compromise. It attempted to settle every question. It was adopted on July 31, 1919. The coalition parties all agreed that Germany should be a Republic. Ebert wanted the National Assembly to decide the form of government. Scheidemann, however, fearing that Liebknecht would set up a Soviet, proclaimed the German Republic, November 9, 1918 on the stairs of the Reichstag building in Berlin. He said:

The monarchical system has collapsed.
The greater part of the garrison has joined
our ranks. The Hohenzollerns have abdicated.
Long live the German Republic! Ebert is
forming a new government in which all

²⁵ Gustav Noske, who was born in 1868, was a German statesman and politician. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1906. He went to Kiel during the November Revolution of 1918, where he re-established order. He commanded the troops which suppressed the Berlin Spartacist revolts in 1919. He became the first Reichsminister

socialistic groups have joined hands.
 Let nothing disturb the triumph we have
 achieved.²⁶ Maintain peace, order, and
 security.

Thus, at this point the Social Democrats had inherited the state. They were split, however, with the army supporting the Majority Party. The army could be used against the minority (Communists). Hugenberg was head of the anti-Democratic German National Party.²⁷ There was an element of anti-Republicanism in the veterans organization known as the "Stahlhelm."²⁸ There was a German People's Party,²⁹ a party of high finance, associated with which was Gustav

of defense in 1919. Gustav Noske, Von Kiel bis Kapp (Berlin: Verlag fuer Politik und Wirtschaft, 1920), et passim.

²⁶ Abel, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁷ Alfred Hugenberg, who was born in 1865, was a German newspaper proprietor, motion-picture magnate, and politician. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1920. He was the chairman of the German National People's Party, 1928-33. He was Minister of National Economy, Food, and Agriculture in Hitler's cabinet, January 30 to June 27, 1933. He retired and his party ("Green Shirts") dissolved, June 1933, but he remained a member of the Reichstag.

²⁸ Abel, op. cit., pp. 50, 75, 130.

²⁹ Arnold Brecht, Prelude to Silence (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 12, 23, 28, 100.

Stresemann,³⁰ a man of great leadership ability. The Democratic Party³¹ also had brilliant leaders but no followers. The Center Party had preserved its cadres, and was one of the most democratic and most reliable of the Weimar Republic parties. It assisted the new government in carrying on the armistice negotiations. The Centrist leader, Erzberger,³² interviewed Marshal

³⁰ Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929) was a German statesman. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1907. He was chancellor of Germany in 1923. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1923-29. He negotiated a mutual security pact with France, the Locarno Pact, and secured Germany's admission to the League of Nations on an equal status with other great nations. He sponsored Germany's adoption of the Dawes Plan, 1924, and the Young Plan, 1929.

³¹ William Ebenstein, The German Record (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1945), p. 221. Brecht, op. cit., pp. 11, 100.

³² Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921) was a German statesman. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1903. He was the leader of the left wing of the Center Party. He sought to enlighten neutral opinion during World War I and worked for international relationship, primarily of Roman Catholic clergy. He opposed the war policy of 1917, and advocated peace by agreement. He took an active part in the coalition of Centrists, Progressives, and Social Democrats, and fathered the July Resolution in the Reichstag in favor of peace without annexations, 1917. He was Secretary of State without portfolio under Prince Max of Baden, 1918. He was chairman of the armistice commission and signed the Compiegne armistice, 1918. Again, under Scheidemann, he was minister without portfolio in 1919. He favored acceptance of the Versailles Treaty at the Weimar National Assembly. Under Bauer in 1919, he was Minister of Finance and, briefly, Vice-chancellor. He carried through the Erzberger system of imperial finance and tax reforms.

Foch,³³ which resulted in Erzberger's assassination in 1921 by fanatical Nationalists, who also murdered the Foreign Minister, Rathenau,³⁴ because of his moderate policies. The temporary government ruled for two months, until a National Assembly could be elected to draft a

He was charged with questionable private transactions and financial misdemeanors while in office, by Helfferich, whom he sued for libel in 1920. He also resigned in 1920, and headed the Wurttemberg Center Party in the Reichstag. In 1921 he was shot and killed by former officers.

³³ Lindley Fraser, Germany Between Two Wars (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945) pp. 15-19. German Government, Der Waffenstillstand 1918-1919 (Full story of the peace negotiations--Official German Report; Berlin: 1928), Vol 1. Ferdinand Foch (1851-1929) was a French Marshal. He commanded the 9th army at the first battle of the Marne, 1914, and the first battle of Ypres. He directed the French armies in Artois, 1915, and at the Somme, 1916. In April 1918, he was made generalissimo commanding the Allied Forces. Under his direction the great German offensive was checked and turned at the Marne, July 1918. Foch imposed the conditions of the armistice, and later presided over the Inter-Allied Military Commission.

³⁴ Walther Rathenau (1867-1922) became director of the electro-chemical enterprizes, Bitterfeld, 1893, a director of A. E. G., 1899, and president of A. E. G., 1915. He directed the distribution of war raw materials in the preliminary preparations for the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919. He took part in the preparations for the London Conference, 1921. He represented Germany at the Cannes Conference, 1922, and secured diminution of the reparations payment of 1922. As Foreign Minister in Wirth's second cabinet of 1922, he participated in the Conference at Genoa, and signed the Rapallo Treaty with Russia in 1922. He was assassinated by reactionaries in 1922. As an added reason for hating him, he was a Jew.

constitution. The Majority Socialists had to make an extremely difficult decision during this period. Should they take the lead in building a Democratic Republic on moderate lines, which would introduce Socialism cautiously and gradually, or should they create a state along the Russian lines, as the Spartacists and some of the Independent Socialists wanted? They definitely decided for a democratic form of government. Ebert, with the assistance of the old armies was able to remain in control of the government.

The Bavarian People's Party was an offshoot of the Center Party. It was more conservative than the Center, but almost always voted with the Center. But until 1932 the strongest party was the Social Democratic Party, which suffered under two disabilities: first a close tieup with the labor unions, which had a strictly limited field of interest, such as higher wages, and better working conditions, but never were interested in the nation as a whole; second the lack of leadership. However, the system of election favored long party loyalty rather than brilliance which eventually resulted in the collapse of the Weimar Republic because of a lack of good leadership. The Social Democrats' chief contribution was that it created the machinery for a political education, and caused the party

to become a way of life. The Communist Party of Germany was the most successful, most organized, and best led of all the Communist parties outside of the Russian borders. It was organized in 1918 as a revolutionary party dedicated to the creation of a Soviet Republic of Germany. It was not connected with Moscow, at first, however. The leaders thought the revolution was inevitable and close at hand, but the Social Democrats ruined their plans. Later the Stalinites gained control of the party.³⁵ The Communists voted in opposition to every measure of the government. The Communists and the NSDAP joined to oppose the government and to eliminate the middle of the road parties. The NSDAP was steeped in Nationalism, which aided in its ascension. The NSDAP presented totalitarianism as a solid idea, whereas the Weimar Democracy was a framework in which ideas could roam. The German people liked to have something solid on which to hold. One of the main fortes of the NSDAP was its propaganda of anti-Semitism.³⁶ This was not based on reason; therefore, it could not be

³⁵ Ruth Fischer, Stalin and German Communism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), et passim.

³⁶ Veit Valentin, The German People (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), pp. 638-42.

disproved scientifically. It was based on the psychological fact that unity was easier in hatred; also people must have someone to blame for their dilemma a scapegoat. The Jews were a minority; therefore, it was relatively safe to hate them. This was artificially brought about in Germany, because by 1918 German Jews were integrated into the German culture.³⁷ There is no proof that the Jews were less Nationalistic than the rest of the nation, but the NSDAP captured the imagination of large numbers of people at a time of great distress. Also, the bulk of the unemployed militarists were ready to yield to anyone who could lead them back to victory.

At the extreme Right were the Nationalists, including the Prussian Junkers, ex-army officers, monarchists, and other reactionaries. They were Pan-Germanic, conservative, and militaristic in principle. Their political activity was aimed at the strengthening of the army, at the complete destruction of all Communist movements, and they were especially against any peace treaty that would take away their Colonies, or hinder them in their attainment of world power. Moving from Right to Left, we find the German People's Party next in order. This party did not

³⁷ Ibid., p. 639. Attack was largely based 1920-30,

have a definite program. They made vague promises of peace, freedom, order and bread. It was somewhat reactionary, but not so much as the Nationalists. Improved diplomatic and consular service were among their goals. Representing the great industrial and commercial factions in Germany, their political attitude was quite similar to that of the Nationalists. Next in line is the Center Party, which viewed all political questions from the Catholic Church angle. All three of the above Rightist parties are Capitalistic. They had a great hatred for England, and hoped for a day of revenge. They secured votes by playing up the Communist threat.

On the Left, we find the Democratic Party, which was entirely Republican. They favored a gradual socialization, however, especially of the natural monopolies. They wanted free trade, the separation of church and state, and were strongly in favor of the League of Nations. This party was composed largely of the bourgeois classes, however, they cooperated exceptionally well with the Majority Socialists and entered into a coalition with that party. Next on the Left is the Social Democratic Party,

on non-German Jews. There was a great influx from Poland, Hungary, and Rumania.

which had split before the War ended over the question of voting War Credits. The Majority Socialists included in their program gradual socialization, popular election of judges and officials, a steeply graduated income tax, and the separation of church and state. They were also Republican and favored a League of Nations. Their membership was mainly proletarian. The Independent Socialists supported all proposals of political reform. They stood firmly on the Socialist Erfurt program of 1891; and sought immediate socialization, without restrictions or reservations.³⁸ They favored immediate peace on the Allied terms. They also had a membership made up largely of the proletariat. On the extreme Left were the Spartacists (Communists). In general purpose and principle they were closely allied with Russian Communists, from whom they received considerable financial support.³⁹ The Spartacists were international in outlook, and they were bitter enemies of the Capitalists. They opposed the signing of

³⁸ At the Erfurt Congress (1891) the Socialists adopted a more strictly Marxian program.

³⁹ Walter James Shepard, "The New Government in Germany," American Political Science Review, 13:361-78, August, 1919.

the peace treaty. Members were for the most part from the industrial proletariat, however, a considerable number of younger peasants, who had returned from the war, were Spartacists.⁴⁰ There were numerous other parties which were of little importance, except for their power to keep a larger party from gaining a plurality. The NSDAP did not come into prominence until the late 1920's.

The Republic was controlled for a long time by an uneasy and constantly changing coalition of the more moderate groups. Sometimes a Social Democrat would be chancellor,⁴¹ supported by the Centrists and later a Centrist would be chancellor supported by the Social Democrats and other factions; now and then even a Nationalist would get into the cabinet. The Social Democrats were Democrats first and merely secondarily Socialists. They tried no legislation against the property rights of the old nobility and the middle classes; they failed to confiscate the wealth and the lands of the Hohenzollern family. The hands of the Social Democrats, and of all the parties, were tied to a large extent by proportional representation. Under that system each party was represented in the Reichstag in

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ See Appendix, p. 188.

proportion to the number of votes which it received,⁴² and thus all of the minor parties continued to exist, even though their existence was a constant threat against any consistent policy's being carried out. Coalition government is as a rule weak;⁴³ certainly the various ministries of the Weimar Republic were weak at the time when Germany needed a very strong government.

⁴² R. T. Clark, The Fall of the German Republic (London: Allen and Unwin, 1935), pp. 83, 129, 311.

⁴³ This has been shown by the French Coalition governments of the past few years.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST

GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY⁴⁴

The name of this party signifies its emphasis upon nationalism, socialism, Germanism and the working class. This movement was founded by one Adolf Hitler, in the Bavarian city of Munich, in 1919. It had a great deal in common with Mussolini's Fascist movement in Italy.⁴⁵ It combined an appeal of extreme and exclusive nationalism and chauvinist expansionism with a revolutionary plea to the masses. Both National Socialism and Fascism claim to be the enemies of Liberalism and democracy, of individual rights and all movements of international co-operation and peace. They both place emphasis upon the subordination of the individual to the state, the inequality of men and races, the right of the strong to rule the weak, and the necessity of the principle of blind and unswerving obedience to leaders appointed from above. Both praise the

⁴⁴ Abel, op. cit. pp. 13-110. Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., et passim.
Konrad Heiden, Der Fuehrer op cit., et passim.

⁴⁵ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 67, 75-7.

military virtues, despise and reject pacifism, humanitarianism and charity, praise hatred and conquest, and aim at the transformation of the whole nation into an army and a power of continuous preparation for warfare.

National Socialism, however, was peculiarly German in character. Its concepts can be traced to the Prussian tradition as it developed under the inspiration of great soldier kings like Frederick William I⁴⁶ and Frederick II⁴⁷ and men of blood and iron of the type of Bismarck, who was responsible for the unification of Germany in 1871. This tradition always regarded the militant spirit and the discipline of the Prussian army as the model for all persons and for civic life. To this tradition was added the tradition of political romanticism with its sharp hostility to rationalism, to the principles underlying the French

⁴⁶ Frederick William I (1688-1740) was king of Prussia, 1713-1740. Founder of the Prussian military system, he fought with success under Marlborough at Malplaquet in 1709, and later annexed Gelderland and part of Pomerania, 1720.

⁴⁷ Frederick II (1712-1786) was known as 'the Great', succeeded his father, Frederick William I, in 1740. He was a disciple of Voltaire, and ruled as an enlightened despot. He reorganized the army, and in the wars of 1741-5 he took Silesia from Austria. His great victory in the Seven Years' War, 1756-63, established the kingdom of Prussia as a leading European Power.

Revolution,⁴⁸ to the "superficiality" of the West, and with its emphasis on instinct, on the past, even on the remote past, and its proclamation of the rights of the exceptional over all universal law and rules. Thus the exceptional became a law unto himself. These two traditions were later enforced by the nineteenth century worship of "science" and of the "laws of nature," which with their "iron logic" worked out beyond all concepts of good and evil, and by a biological theory of life which led to the acceptance of that racialism first expounded by the Frenchman, Count Arthur de Gobineau, in his Essai sur l'Inegalite des Races Humaines.⁴⁹ (Essay on the Inequality of Human Races), published in 1854. Gobineau's work repudiated the the French revolutions of 1789 and 1848 and all they stood for. His doctrine was designed to combat political

⁴⁸ These principles were "liberty, equality and fraternity."

⁴⁹ Count Arthur Gobineau, Essay on the Inequality of Human Races (Trans. from the French; New York: 1915). Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) was a French diplomat, Orientalist, and writer. His most important work is a sociological treatise, cited above, which was published in 1854 and 1884, in which he advances the theory (Gobinism) that the dolichocephalic blond Aryan, or Teuton, is the superior race among the races of men.

liberalism and the labor movement, and the book in which he stated it was dedicated to the king of Hanover, who had only recently abolished the liberal constitution by unconstitutional means. Gobineau sought an ideological basis for a state form that would exclude the proletariat from political rights and insure a stable foundation for aristocratic rule, and that would also improve upon the French counter-revolutionist theories of Bonald and de Maistre.⁵⁰ Richard Wagner⁵¹ combined Gobineau's concepts with a heroic ideal of the Nordic superman and influenced early Hitlerism a great deal, along with his son-in-law Houston Stewart Chamberlain,⁵² who wrote Foundations of the Nineteenth Century (1899). National Socialism owes the vague and fluid conceptions of folk as the basis of cultural and political organization to

⁵⁰ Vicomte Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald (1754-1840) was a French publicist and philosopher. He was an emigre during the French Revolution, but returned to France in 1806, and became Minister of Instruction under Napoleon in 1808. He was an extreme conservative in his policies. Comte Joseph Marie de Maistre (1753-1821) was a French philosopher, statesman, and writer, who strongly opposed the French Revolution, 1789 and following. Neumann, op. cit., p. 107.

⁵¹ Neuman, Ibid. Richard Wagner (1813-1883) was a famous German composer.

⁵² Neumann, Ibid. Houston Stewart Chamberlain

romanticism, and of Weltanschauung (total world outlook) as opposed in the name of Kultur to the more rational civilization of the West.

Hitler's development was influenced during his youth by specific Austrian movements, in addition to the above currents in the German tradition. National Socialism is indebted to Dr. Karl Lueger,⁵³ who organized the Catholic lower middle classes of Vienna in an anti-Capitalistic and anti-Semitic movement called the Christian Socialist party,⁵⁴ but who remained loyal to Hapsburg conservatism,⁵⁵ and to Georg von Schonerer,⁵⁶ who combined racial anti-Semitism with a violent anti-Catholicism and pan-Germanism expansionism and a bitter hostility to the

(1855-1927) was a British publicist, who became a naturalized German citizen in 1916.

⁵³ Karl Lueger was a famous Vienna Mayor, who was extremely anti-Semitic from about 1880.

⁵⁴ Henri Lichtenberger, The Third Reich (Translated from the French; New York: The Greystone Press, 1937), p. 20. Valentin, op. cit., pp. 544ff.

⁵⁵ Albert C. Grzesinski, Inside Germany (Translated from the German; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1939), pp. 195, 197.

⁵⁶ Georg von Schonerer was the leader of the Christian Socialist party in Austria.

Hapsburgs⁵⁷ Schonerer's protege, Karl Herman Wolf, organized among the Sudeten Germans in Bohemia a German Workers' party which was later to take on the name of Deutsche National Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei, some years previous to Hitler's founding his almost identically named NSDAP in Munich. A great deal of Hitler's chauvinistic spirit can be accounted for by the experience of his youth in the bitter nationality struggles of the polyglot Hapsburg Empire.

Immediately after the war of 1914-18, when Hitler began his agitation in Munich, he found the intellectual ground well prepared by the writings of the German romanticists, and of the German publicists of the War of Liberation like Ernst Arndt,⁵⁸ and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn.⁵⁹ Just previous to the war of 1914-18, there was a renewed

⁵⁷ Abel, op. cit., pp. 144-45. Heiden, Geschichte des National Socialismus (Berlin: Rohwalt, 1932), p. 33.

⁵⁸ Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) was a German patriot and author. He fired the German spirit against oppressors with his song, Was Ist das Deutschen Vaterland? and other songs, pamphlets, and patriotic poems. Ralph F. Bischoff, Nazi Conquest through German Culture (Harvard University Press, 1942), pp. 51-3, 58-179.

⁵⁹ Bischoff, Ibid., pp. 49-51, 179. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) was a Prussian gymnastic director

interest in romanticism and in the War of Liberation of 1813. In the years just before the war of 1914-18, a German Youth Movement with its longing for a true community (Gemeinschaft), the rebirth of the nation, and with a vague mystical enthusiasm for leadership and comradeship, expressed the opposition to rationalism and "bourgeois" liberalism. It had come largely under the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche⁶⁰ and a German poet Stefan George.⁶¹ Oswald Spengler⁶² and Moeller van den Bruck⁶³ are

and patriot. He opened in Berlin, 1811, a Turnplatz, or Athletic field, first of many throughout Germany, and used his system of training to inspire patriotism in Prussian youth and a spirit of resistance to Napoleonic domination.

⁶⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) was a German philosopher and poet. He denounced all religion and championed the "morals of masters," the doctrine of perfectibility of man through forcible self-assertion and glorification of the superman or overman (Uebermensch). His theories influenced the German attitude, it is thought, in the first world war, and in the Third Reich, 1933. Heinrich Hartle, Nietzsche und der Nationalsozialismus (Official; Munich, 1937), pp. 45-46. Neuman, op. cit., pp. 127-8.

⁶¹ Neumann, Ibid., pp. 132-3, 490. Stefan George (1868-1933) was a German poet, who was associated with Baudelaire and Mallarme in Paris and with the Pre-Raphaelite group in London. He was the Leader of "an art for art's sake" school of poetry in Germany.

⁶² Neumann, Ibid., pp. 195-8. Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) was a German writer on the philosophy of

regarded as the immediate forerunners of National Socialism in the intellectual field. The intellectual preparation, however, would never have been enough for the growth of National Socialism in Germany if the defeat in the war of 1914-18 with its great disillusionment and pauperization, particularly in the lower middle classes, had not opened the road for Hitler's propaganda. The peace treaty of Versailles provided Hitler with a base from which to work, but the violent opposition which he evoked was not centered in reality against the peace treaty but against the fact that Germany had been defeated and that her "blue print" had been frustrated. Hitler's propaganda appealed from the beginning to the military circles, who looked upon the peace as a temporary setback in Germany's expansionist program. Hitler contributed to the pan-Germanic aspirations⁶⁴ for world domination, the almost mystical

history. His chief work, Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte (2 Vols., 1918-22; translated into English under the title Decline of the West), in which he predicted the eclipse of Western civilization.

⁶³ Neumann, Ibid., pp. 198-9. Moeller van den Bruck was mentor of the "young conservative movement in Germany and author of a work entitled The Third Reich (Das dritte Reich).

⁶⁴ Lichtenberger, op. cit., pp. 88-90, 141.

fanaticism of a faith in the mission of the German race and the fervor of a social revolutionary gospel. Hitler's appeal to the masses as the bearers of the most exalted racial ideals in the world was eagerly accepted to counteract their inferiority complex, in the years of political and economic depression which followed Germany's defeat.

Hitler accepted and used many elements of the technique of the Bolshevik Revolution; nevertheless, he was powerfully aided by the great fear of Bolshevism, which he exploited, first in Germany and then on a worldwide scale, claiming to be the strong barrier against Communism. In this way he got the financial and moral support of a great many conservative groups who didn't understand the revolutionary and nihilistic character of his movement, and also of many influential members of the high finance group and of big business. At the same time he got the backing of the masses by vague promises of an anti-Capitalistic order. The standard of the NSDAP was the red flag of the revolution. However, it was changed to the German imperial colors by the addition of a white circle and a black swastika (or Hakenkreuz⁶⁵ in the center. In this

⁶⁵ Where he first encountered the design of the

manner Hitler combined the appeal of social revolution and that of a militant and mystical nationalism. The unusual flexibility of his dynamic doctrine enabled him to stress different elements at different times and to adapt his attitude momentarily to changing circumstances, even with entire disregard for previous statements. His chief individual contribution to the theory and practice of National Socialism was his deep understanding of mass psychology and mass propaganda in the contemporary world, and his genius for using the most refined and elaborate technique. His chapter on propaganda in Mein Kampf⁶⁶ can be regarded as of fundamental importance. He emphasized the fact that

swastika, Hitler has never recorded. The design itself is ancient and widely spread among the cultures of the world. Early in the nineteenth century the German archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann, while conducting excavations at the site of ancient Troy, found hundreds of spindles marked with swastikas. In seeking their meaning Schliemann was told by the French archaeologist, Emile Burnouf, that they were used by the ancient "Aryans," who kindled their fires with boresticks. The swastika was the feminine counterpart of the bore-stick. Schliemann accepted this and wrote a commentary on the swastika as an "Aryan" symbol. To the Chinese the emblem meant good luck, and to the Hindus it symbolized sexual ardour and fertility. In modern Germany and Europe it came to symbolize anti-Semitism. Frederick L. Schuman, The Nazi Dictatorship (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1936), pp. 24ff.

⁶⁶ Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Munich: Zentral-verlag der NSDAP., Franz Eher Nachf., Gmbh., 1943), pp. 193-204.

all propaganda must keep its intellectual level adapted to the capacity of the least intelligent of those at whom it is directed, and that its content of truth does not count compared with the only valid criterion, that of success. Propaganda should say very little, but repeat it very often.

Hitler knew that with an extensive goal like world domination, it was very important to be able to present under one common denominator all potential adversaries who could themselves change according to the circumstances, and he wrote:

As a whole, and at all times, the efficiency of the truly national leader consists primarily in preventing the division of the attention of a people, and always in concentrating it on a single enemy. The more uniformly the fighting will of a people is put into action, the greater will be the magnetic force of the movement and the more powerful the impetus of the blow. It is part of the genius of a great leader to make adversaries of different fields appear as always belonging to one category only, because to weak and unstable characters the knowledge that there are various enemies will lead only too easily to incipient doubts as to their own cause.

As soon as the wavering masses find themselves confronting too many enemies, objectivity at once steps in, and the question is raised whether actually all the others are wrong and their own nation or their own movement alone is right.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Translated from the German. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940), pp. 152-3.

It was a work of genius on the part of Hitler to find this common denominator in the Jews and Judaism. This helped him to discover the "Jew" behind all his changing adversaries, sometimes behind Communism or Moscow:

But we do not make the Russian people as such responsible for this ghastly ideology of annihilation. We know perfectly well that a small, upper class of Jewish intellectuals plunged a great nation into a state bordering on insanity. This would not concern us so much after all, had this doctrine remained within the frontiers of Russia herself, since Germany has no intention of foisting our conceptions of life on the Russian nation. Unfortunately, however, the Bolshevism of international Jewry attempts from its central point in Soviet Russia to rot away the very core of the nations of the world, to overthrow the existing social order, and to substitute chaos for civilization.

We certainly do not seek for contact with Bolshevism. On the contrary, it makes persistent efforts to corrupt the rest of mankind with its thoughts and ideas, and by so doing to plunge the world into a disaster of unprecedented magnitude. And here we are ruthless foes. We overcame the Communist machinations of Moscow in our own land, and we have not the least intention of allowing Germany to be annihilated from without by the material forces of Bolshevism.⁶⁸

sometimes behind England:

But who is the chief of the whole British Press concerned with world-trade? One name crystallizes itself out of the rest: Northcliffe--a Jew! Every

⁶⁸ Norman H. Baynes, The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922-August 1939 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), Vol II, p. 1396. Hitler's Speech to the Reichstag, 20 February 1938.

week he sends out into the world thirty million newspapers. And 99 per cent of the Press of England is in Jewish hands. "Every new-born German child costs the life of a Briton!" -- "There is no Briton who would not profit from the overthrow of Germany!" So with the most despicable catch-phrases the appeal is made to man's lowest instincts. A campaign of provocation is carried on with assertions, libels, and promises such as only a Jew can devise, such as only Jewish newspapers would have the effrontery to put before an Aryan people.⁶⁹

and again behind the United States:

What cause finally had America to enter the War against Germany? With the outbreak of the World war, which Judah had desired so passionately and so long, all the large Jewish firms of the United States began supplying ammunitions. They supplied the European "war-market" to an extent which perhaps even they themselves had never dreamed of--a gigantic harvest! Yet nothing satisfied the insatiable greed of the Jew ... The hatred of these "Americans" was not directed solely against commercial Germany or against military Germany. It was directed specially against social Germany, because this Germany had up to that time kept itself outside of the principles which governed the world-trusts.⁷⁰

Actually, according to Hitler, the Jew was behind everything which at a particular time opposed his wishes or aroused his wrath.

National Socialism proclaimed the Germanic race as the body on which the salvation of the world depended, as

⁶⁹ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 47-8. Hitler's Speech in Munich, 13 April 1923.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

the embodiment of all nobility and creative genius, as the country which must become the world-dominating country. This country necessarily had to have a Gegenreich, a counter-race which on a similarly worldwide basis would represent the antithesis of salvation and creative genius. Thus, the Jewish race became the counter-race. National Socialism saw its duty not only in the destruction of this counter-race, but in the preparation of the German race for its real job of establishing the new world order. The Third Reich, ruled by what Hitler called:

The highest human species given by the grace of the Almighty to this earth ... will have, by suitable education of the youth, in the future a generation mature for the ultimate and greatest decision on this globe. The nation which will first take this road will be victorious, (and become) ... one day the master of the globe.⁷¹

Using these principles, Adolf Hitler was successful in carrying his party from its small beginnings in a beer cellar in Munich to a dominant position in world politics within a period of twenty years. Among his more important disciples were: Alfred Rosenberg,⁷² the author

⁷¹ Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (English Translation), op. cit., pp. 635-7.

⁷² Frank P. Chambers, Christina P. Grant, and Charles C. Bayley, This Age of Conflict (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), pp. 531, 547. Alfred Rosenberg was born in 1893. He was a German Nazi leader and writer.

of Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts,⁷³ the most widely read book of the National Socialist movement outside of Hitler's own Mein Kampf, and of Blut und Ehre; Rudolf Hess,⁷⁴ who helped Hitler write Mein Kampf during their internment in the fortress in Landsberg am Lech in 1924;⁷⁵ Georg Strasser,⁷⁶ probably the most important of Hitler's collaborators, who separated from him in protest against the leader's opportunist policies and was killed in the blood purge of June, 1934;⁷⁷ his brother, Otto Strasser,⁷⁸

He was editor in chief of the Volkischer Beobachter, 1921ff. He entered the Reichstag in 1930, and became director of the Nazi party, 1933. Illustrierter Beobachter, "Adolf Hitler ein Mann und Sein Volk," (Munich: Verlag Franz Eher Nachf., 1936), p. 34.

⁷³ Chambers, Grant and Bayley, Ibid.

⁷⁴ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 238-42, 263; Illustrierter Beobachter op. cit., p. 83. Rudolf Hess was born in 1894. He was a German politician. He joined Hitler's political group in 1921, and became secretary and bodyguard to Hitler in 1925. He was designated by Hitler as head of the political section of the National Socialist party, December 9, 1932. He was named by Hitler in 1939, third deputy (Stellvertreter) of the Fuehrer, second only to Goring in line of succession to supreme power in the German dictatorship.

⁷⁵ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 27-8, 43ff, 60, 68, 274-5.

⁷⁶ Gregor Strasser (1892-1934) was assassinated by the Nazis. He broke with Hitler in 1930, and was exiled in 1933, and expatriated in 1934. He lived in Vienna and Prague.

⁷⁷ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 168, 254.

who in 1930 founded the Black Front⁷⁹ as a more radical group opposed to Hitler; Gottfried Feder, who drew up the first program of national socialism and was for a number of years its economic "expert", and was pushed into oblivion later;⁸⁰ Captain Ernest Rohm, the founder and organizer of the S. A. (Sturm Abteilungen), the National Socialist militia, who was purged in June, 1934;⁸¹ Julius Streicher, who became famous through his anti-Semitic weekly Der Sturmer;⁸² Heinrich Himmler, the organizer and commander

⁷⁸ Otto Johan Maximilian Strasser was born in 1897. He was a German writer. He joined the Nazi party in 1925.

⁷⁹ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 198-9.

⁸⁰ Gottfried Feder, Das Programm der NSDAP (Munich: Frz. Eber. Nachf., 1934). See Appendix, pp. 193-97.

⁸¹ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 108, 245, 250-55, 322 339. Ernst Roehm (1887-1934) was a German soldier and National Socialist Workers' party. He took part in the Hitler Putsch in Munich in 1923, and was arrested as a ringleader. As chief of staff he took over the organization and command of the Brown Shirts and Black Shirts in Germany in 1931. He led a national revolution in Bavaria in 1933, and became state commissar and Reich's secretary of state in Bavaria. He was charged with conspiracy to overthrow Hitler as chancellor. He was executed in the June 1934 purge.

⁸² Neumann, op. cit., pp. 109, 377. Julius Streicher was born in 1885. He was a German journalist and politician. He became notorious for his anti-Semitic campaign, from 1919. He joined the Nazi movement and took part with Hitler in the Munich beer-hall Putsch, 1923, and was arrested and imprisoned with Hitler, 1924. He was appointed by Hitler

of the S. S. (Schutz Staffel), Hitler's personal elite guard and of the gestapo (Geheime Staats Polizei), the secret police;⁸³ Joseph Goebbels, the master of National Socialist propaganda;⁸⁴ Hermann Goering, the organizer of the German industrial mobilization;⁸⁵ R. Walther Darre, the author of Neuadel aus Blut und Boden (the new nobility

the Nazi chief of Franconia.

⁸³ Neumann, Ibid., pp. 540-9; Illustrierter Beobachter, op. cit., p. 87. Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) was a German official who joined the Nazi party, 1925. He was the Reich director of propaganda, 1926-30; leader of the Schutzstaffel, 1929-45; chief of the Gestapo, 1936-45; and chief of the home front and Wehrmacht inside Germany, 1944-45. He attempted to negotiate the surrender of Germany in April, 1945. He was captured by the British and committed suicide.

⁸⁴ Neumann, Ibid., pp. 48, 289, 374, 532; Illustrierter Beobachter, Ibid., p. 85. Joseph Paul Goebbels was born in 1897. He was a German politician, and district leader of the Nazi party in Berlin from 1926. He organized the party membership in northern Germany. He was founder, 1927, and editor of the Nazi journal, Der Angriff. He was the Nazi party propaganda leader from 1929, and Minister for propaganda and national enlightenment, 1933ff.

⁸⁵ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 107, 122, 179, 181, 191, 213-14, 258-9, 278, 281, 293, 308, 340, 360; Illustrierter Beobachter, op. cit., p. 81. Hermann Goering (1893-1946) was a German politician. He was involved in the National Socialist uprising in Munich, 1923, and took refuge in Italy, 1923-27. He was an active member of the NSDAP, and a member of the Reichstag from 1928, and its president and Minister of the Interior, and general of the infantry. Also, he was the commissar for the execution of the four-year plan, 1936. He succeeded Schacht as the

of Blood and Soil) and organizer of the National Socialist peasant policy;⁸⁶ and Dr. Robert Ley, the leader of the German Workers' front.⁸⁷

It took the NSDAP fourteen years to attain power in Germany. It had come into existence at a time when it was only one of many semi-revolutionary, reactionary, and terrorist organizations springing up as Freikorps throughout Germany, composed of former officers and soldiers, students and other elements dissatisfied with the republican democratic and peaceful order which seemed to come to Germany in 1919. That it continued and took in all the others was due largely to Hitler's leadership and to the fact that Captain Rohm got the Reichswehr⁸⁸ to

economic dictator of Germany, November 1937. He became a field marshal in February 1938. He was president of the council for war economy from 1940.

⁸⁶ Bischoff, op. cit., p. 28; Illustrierter Beobachter, Ibid., p. 84. R. Walther Darre was the Nazi expert on agricultural affairs.

⁸⁷ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 183, 185, 236-7, 241; Illustrierter Beobachter, op. cit., p. 88. Robert Ley was a Nazi leader. He entered the party in 1924. He was a Nazi deputy in 1928, and leader of the Nazi organization in Munich in 1931. In 1932, he was promoted to the head of the German Labor Front from 1933.

⁸⁸ The Reichswehr was the German Republican army.

support Hitler. On February 24, 1920, the NSDAP drew up in Munich, the center of its organization, a program of twenty-five points, which in 1926 was declared unalterable; in reality it was extended far in the actual developments. On November 9, 1923, Hitler, supported by Field Marshall Ludendorff, attempted his first Putsch in Munich, but it failed. Reaction was already so strongly embedded by that time in Bavaria, however, that Hitler was given only a light formal punishment. The following years of political and economic consolidation in Germany did not allow Hitler to advance far, but the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1930's and the lack of forceful measures on the part of the government against the constant propaganda to undermine democracy brought the first great success of the NSDAP in 1930.

The above background of the German traditions, and the propaganda schemes of Hitler will help us to understand the final rise to power of the NSDAP as we shall trace it in a later chapter through the elections from 1919 to 1933. Let us turn, in Chapter V, to an investigation of the electoral system as provided in the Weimar Constitution.

CHAPTER III

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM UNDER THE WEIMAR CONSTITUTION

The members of the Reichstag were elected for a term of four years by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot by both men and women over twenty years of age, according to the principles of proportional representation. The election had to be held on a Sunday so that a maximum of the enfranchised would be free to participate.⁸⁹

It is possible for the elections of legislative bodies to be established by two chief processes. Under the majority system each constituency usually elects one representative, and the candidate who receives the largest number of votes, even though it may not be a majority, is elected. The constituencies are reasonably small and, while party loyalties influence the voters, the personality and character of the candidate and his relations with the public are quite important. Thus, there are no entirely safe seats under that system, because the constituency votes for a particular man and not for an abstract thing,

⁸⁹ Kraus, op. cit., p. 184, Articles 22-3 of the Weimar Constitution.

the party. This is a great advantage, from the democratic viewpoint, since it helps to avoid a self-perpetuating party organization which can establish itself behind the safe parliamentary sinecures. Another advantage of such a system is that it discourages the organization of small splinter parties, because only the major parties with strong national interests can expect to get sufficient votes to win individual constituencies. Usually, as in the United States and England, the majority system makes for the two-party system. Sectional interests have to be represented through the major parties or not represented at all.

Proportional representation is the second principal electoral method. This was the method adopted by the Weimar Republic. Under it, the electorate is divided into a few large constituencies, each of which elects a number of representatives in proportion to the number of votes in the whole country. The voters in these large constituencies vote for parties, and not for particular candidates, and the party chiefs draw up their lists, and control their representatives after their election.

Proportional representation definitely hindered the functioning of the Weimar Republic and was one of the main

factors causing its downfall.⁹⁰ Before World War I, Germany used the majority election system. The framers of the Weimar Constitution, however, overlooked workability and common sense in their seeking after abstract principles of perfect political justice. The proportional representation system was adopted for the purpose of giving voice to all types of public opinion. The result was a great weakening of the German politics. Under this system new and extreme parties could spread much faster. For instance, under the majority system, the NSDAP would not have gotten a single seat in the 1928 election, whereas under the proportional system they got twelve seats.

In Germany the so-called "list system" of proportional representation was used. Each party nominated a list of candidates equal to the number of members to which the district was entitled. Every vote cast was counted as a vote for a particular list. After disregarding the votes of minor parties which received less than the quotient, which was arrived at by dividing the total vote of the

⁹⁰ F. A. Hermens, "Proportional Representation and the Breakdown of German Democracy," Social Research, Vol. 4, (1936), pp. 379-423; also see his, Democracy of Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation (Notre Dame, Ind.: 1941) pp. 214-300; Cf., Reinhold Aris, "Proportional

district by the number of seats, the votes of the successful parties were divided successively by the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., and the largest figures up to the number of seats gave the number of representatives each party was entitled to. In case a minor party, whose vote was less than the quotient, should poll more votes than the smallest quotient, it would be assigned the seat instead of the large party, which had already gotten one or more seats.

Candidates were nominated in districts, Unions of districts and the Reich. The same person could be put on more than one list. If a prominent party leader happened to be defeated in his election area a place could be made for him on the national list of the party. The candidates whose names appeared on the national party list were elected by the party's vote remainders from the local areas which passed first to the Unions of districts and then to the Reich. All parties did not have lists in every district but they all had Reich lists. However, a party could not have a Reich list unless it had some district lists. Germany did not hold any elections for the purpose of filling vacancies. When a vacancy occurred the next person on the list filled it until the regular four year election, or until the President dissolved the Reichstag

and called for new elections.

This system worked against the small parties whose following was widely scattered. However, it did allow them to exist, and between 1919 and 1933 two to fourteen per cent of the Reichstag membership represented the small marginal parties. These small representations very often held the balance, thus hindering the legislative machinery considerably. Some parties always needed more popular votes to gain a seat in the Reichstag than did others. For the most part, the small parties needed more popular votes per seat than did the larger parties. The secret seemed to be to get as strong a vote as possible on the local level.⁹¹

The most damaging effect of proportional representation was the demoralizing effect upon the voters. Especially was this true in Germany where the people were not experienced in self-government. The voters can think about the issues more intelligently and enthusiastically if they are clearly and rationally presented by two or three major parties. When the voter is faced with the

Representation in Germany," Politica, Vol. 2 (1937), pp. 433-45.

⁹¹ See Charts I-IX.

study and analysis of the programs and candidates of six to twelve major parties and twenty-five to thirty small parties, he cannot intelligently deal with the situation, and he has contempt for the whole system. All types of interest groups, such as landlords, disabled war veterans, winegrowers, and many others organized their own parties. Many of the small parties were never able to get seats in the Reichstag, but they showed the German conception of the party system under a Republican form of government.

The majority system has led in practice in the United States and England, to the organization of the whole political system on the two-party basis. The voter in this way finds it quite easy to make his decision as to which of the parties has the best platform and the most competent and reliable candidates. Sometimes one must choose the one he dislikes least. Nevertheless, the decision of the voter is much more readily made, since he only has to compare two platforms and relatively few candidates. Another reason why the majority system makes the rise of small and extremist parties difficult is that both of the large parties always appeal to the whole country, and therefore cannot afford to offend a large number of the electorate. The appeal to the whole country under the

two-party system makes it mandatory for both of the parties to be moderate, and, therefore makes for the spirit of compromise which is needed in a democratic system.

Proportional representation does show political opinions of all types more accurately than the majority system does, but it does not establish stable and effective government. The chief responsibility of government is to govern. Anything which hinders it from accomplishing that goal should be cast off, instead of being carried to the point of absurdity. Coalition governments are compulsory under the proportional representation system. Thus, responsibility disintegrates, and bickering for positions, the play of personalities, and the consideration of party interests are factors in the political realm. Therefore, the problem of how to maintain the life of the government rather than the welfare of the community becomes the aim and purpose. Strong, healthy democracies have, for that reason, stayed away from coalition government as far as possible, and have only used it, as in the United States and England, in emergencies and crises such as war, where a common cause takes precedence over all other differences.

The apparent success of coalition governments in France during the Third Republic was due to the existence of a class of potential ministers, who held office under

various party labels but constituted, nevertheless, a political class. However, such a class was wanting in Germany. Also, in France after World War I Right blocs and Left blocs were created, approaching the two-party system. This was the only way to give the voter a clear-cut view of the issues at stake, and form a government of real authority.

Proportional representation was characteristic of the political inexperience of German liberals and adherents of constitutional government. Looking at it from a different viewpoint, proportional representation did not create, so much as it reflected, the basic political disunity of the German people. Germany had not possessed democratic symbols expressing the ideals and hopes of a freely united people. The army and civil service had served as channels of artificial integration. Thus, when the army was defeated in 1918, Germany was in a situation in which these artificial democracy forced upon the German people by Ludendorff, Hindenburg and Noske could not serve as a focal point for national symbols, because that democracy was not gained by suffering and struggle as were the Western democracies. The various intrigues and machinations of the military leaders which affected the transition from imperial to

republican government in Germany formed a psychological vacuum. No new psychological unity was created, because the republican leaders failed to capture the imagination of the German people, since the republic was the product of intrigue and maneuver, and not of hard honest struggle. As a result, the republic was never accepted by the masses of the people.⁹²

⁹²Ebenstein, op. cit., pp. 207-11.

CHAPTER IV

ANANLYSIS OF THE ELECTIONS 1919 TO 1933

The year 1919 was an extremely difficult year throughout Germany. On January 12, Bavaria elected her new Diet. Eisner's⁹³ supporters only won three seats; nevertheless he became head of a coalition government, and proved immediately that he was a practical and forceful administrator. However, he was assassinated, on February 21, 1919, by an army officer, Count Arco Valle. The murder was supposed to have been caused by the separatist policy of the Bavarian Prime Minister, who had violently attacked Prussia, and who, in November, 1918 had broken off relations with Berlin. According to the Berliner Tageblatt:

The characteristic of the Bavarian revolution from the first had been its aversion toward the idea of the empire, and its hatred for the symbol of national unity, the red, white, and black flag.⁹⁴

⁹³ Kurt Eisner (1867-1919) was a German Journalist, and Socialist leader in Bavaria. He edited a number of Socialist papers. In World War I, he supported the government at first, but later, 1917, he turned to support the Independents. In 1918, he organized the munich revolution which overthrew monarchy and became first Minister President of the Bavarian republic. He championed separatism and publicly admitted the German war guilt.

⁹⁴ Berliner Tageblatt, February 22, 1919.

On April 6, a Soviet Republic was declared in Munich as a result of the Bavarian hatred of Prussia, and opposition to the National Assembly. The declaration of the socialization of all property immediately followed the declaration of a Soviet Republic. However, the Prime Minister, Hoffmann,⁹⁵ after an attempt to put down this extremist group, asked for the help of the central government, which was granted on April 21 when President Ebert sent 30,000 troops under the command of Noske, and the Soviet government was immediately crushed. The revolts in Bavaria were estimated to have caused property damages amounting to \$62,500,000.⁹⁶ The country as a whole was returning to a respectable bourgeois regime, but Bavaria became constantly more revolutionary and more separatist, and traditionally resented the centralizing tendency of the new Weimar Republic.

January 19, 1919, a few days after Spartacus Week, elections were held throughout the Reich for the National

⁹⁵ Adolf Hoffmann was one of the six German delegates to the anti-war conference of the European Socialists at Zimmerwald, Switzerland in 1915.

⁹⁶ The New International Year Book (Frank Moore Colby, editor; New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1920), 1919 year book, p. 294.

Assembly.⁹⁷ The Spartacists Communists refused to be represented, but all other parties had candidates in the campaign. The former parties of the Right and Center were beginning to come out of the bewilderment of the revolution. Preparing to take their places once again in the political life of the Reich, they approached the elections under new names, but in surprising strength. The conservatives and the Reichs Party appeared as the German Nationalists, and the Right-wing National Liberals came out as the German People's Party. The Catholic Center appeared as the Christian People's Party, but returned later to its old name. The Left-wing National Liberals and Democrats left off their distinctive label, "Majority." The seats in the National Assembly were distributed by proportional representation, as we have seen earlier. Over 30,000,000 out of an electorate of 35,000,000 voted in this election. The results were as follows: Nationalists 3,000,000 votes, 42 seats; People's Party 1,500,000 votes, 21 seats; Center 6,000,000 votes, 88 seats; Democrats 5,500,000 votes, 75 seats; Social Democrats 11,500,000

⁹⁷ Abel, op. cit., pp. 20-22.

CHART I

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, JANUARY 19, 1919

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	0	0	0	0
Social Democratic (Maj. and Ind.)*	185**	14,000,000***	46.5	75,675.6
Democratic	75	5,500,000	19.1	73,333.3
Center	88	6,000,000	19.8	68,181.8
German People's	21	1,500,000	4.4	71,428.5
German Nationalist People's	42	3,000,000	8.6	71,428.5
NSDAP****	0	0	0	0
Other parties	10	484,900	1.6	48,490.0
Summary:			Eligible voters	36,766,500
			Votes cast	30,484,900
			Percent of electorate	83.0
			Valid votes	30,360,300
			Percent of votes cast	99.6

* Social Democrats were divided into Majority and Independent Socialists.

** Twenty-two of these seats were filled by the Independent Socialists.

*** Statistics on popular vote is taken for the most part from Meinrod Hagman, Der Weg ins Verhaengnis (Munich: Michael Beckstein Verlag, 1946), pp. 28-29.

**** National Socialist German Workers' Party

votes,⁹⁸ 163 seats; Independent Socialists 2,500,000 votes, 22 seats, and the minor groups got 10 seats. Thirty-six of the elected members were women.

The National Assembly was to meet at Weimar in the province of Thuringia, for two reasons: to avoid the disturbances of Berlin, and also to advertise to the whole world the sentiment of the new regenerated Germany toward the memory of the more peaceful heroes, Goethe⁹⁹ and Schiller,¹⁰⁰ of Charles August and one of the first liberal constitutions in Germany. On February 4, 1919, the five commissioners transferred their authority to the National Assembly and resigned. On February 6, the National Assembly met for the first time in the Weimar National Theater. On the eleventh, Ebert was elected Provisional President of the Republic, with 277 out of a

⁹⁸ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 62-64; Cf., The New International Year Book, op. cit., pp. 291ff. See chart I..

⁹⁹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) was a famous German poet. On the invitation from Charles August, heir apparent to the duchy of Saxe-Weimar, Goethe settled in Weimar, 1775, then the literary and intellectual center of Germany.

¹⁰⁰ Neumann, op. cit., p. 13.

total of 397 votes. The opposing candidates were the monarchist Count von Powadowsky-Wehner, who received 49 votes, and Scheidemann and Erzberger who received one vote each. On the twelfth, Germany's first republican government was formed. The Social Democrats, Center and Democrats organized themselves into a coalition.¹⁰¹

Scheidemann was made "President of the Reichs Cabinet;" Noske, Minister of the Reichswehr, the name given to the army of that time; Wissell,¹⁰² Minister of National Economy; Landsberg,¹⁰³ Minister of Justice; Bauer,¹⁰⁴ Minister of Labor (these five were all Social Democrats); Erzberger, (Center) was Minister without portfolio; Preuss (Democrat) was Minister of Interior, and Count von

¹⁰¹ Neumann, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁰² Rudolf Wissell was one of the Social Democrat's most respected spokesmen. He urged the adoption of a planned economy, and submitted a scheme for socialization.

¹⁰³ Otto Landsberg was one of the Social Democratic representatives on the six-man cabinet, called the Council of People's Commissioners, which was formed on Nov. 10, 1918, for the purpose of establishing a government capable of maintaining order at home and concluding peace with the Allies.

¹⁰⁴ Gustav Bauer (1870-1944) was a German politician, who entered the Reichstag in 1912, and became Premier of the peace-treaty (Treaty of Versailles) ministry, 1919-20. Also, he was vice-chancellor and Minister of the Treasury, 1921-22.

Brockdorff-Rantzau¹⁰⁵ (no party) was Foreign Minister.¹⁰⁶

The first business of the National Assembly was the constitution, the main author of which was Hugo Preuss, Minister of the Interior, a professor of constitutional law in the Handelshochschule in Berlin. Versailles and the resignation of Scheidemann hindered its smooth passage, and it was not passed by the National Assembly until July 31, 1919.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the Foreign Minister, led the German delegation to Versailles to receive the treaty. On May 7, 1919, in the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles, in the midst of the Allied delegates, the Count was given the text of the treaty by Clemenceau.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau (1869-1928) was a German statesman, who was Minister in Copenhagen, 1912-1918, Foreign Minister, 1919, and leader of the German peace delegation at Versailles. He resigned, 1919, because of his opposition to Germany's signing of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1922, he was Ambassador to Moscow, and opposed membership in the League of Nations and the Locarno Pact.

¹⁰⁶ Young, op. cit., pp. 31ff; Cf., The New International Year Book, op. cit., pp. 291-5.

¹⁰⁷ Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) was a French statesman, who was known as "the Tiger." He served as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, 1876-93, and Senator from 1902. He was Premier of France, 1906-9, and carried out the law separating church and state, also used military force to end a miners' strike. Again in 1917, he served as

He was told that he would be given three weeks in which to make written observations, but that no oral discussions would be allowed. The ceremony did not pass off without an incident. The count was very quick to react to the prevailing temper around him, and disdaining to rise from his seat, he gave in a haughty speech what was presumably still the official view in Germany of Germany's war guilt:

We have no illusions as to the extent of our impotence, he said. We know that the power of German arms is broken, and we are aware of the fury of the hatred which greets us. We are asked to assume the sole guilt of the war. Such a confession from my lips would be a lie. We have no intention of absolving Germany from all responsibility for the war ... But we expressly contend that Germany, whose people were convinced that they were fighting a defensive war, should not be saddled with the whole responsibility. None of us will argue that the mischief began with the murder of the Archduke. In the last fifty years imperialism has poisoned the international position of all European states. The policy of revenge, the policy of expansion, and the flouting of the rights of self-determination have contributed to the crisis. The Russian mobilization gave the decision to the military authorities.

Public opinion among our foes dilates on the crimes committed by Germany during the conflict. We are not here to deny the

Premier, and led France through the critical days of the World War, and headed the French delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, 1919.

responsibility of the men who directed the war, or the violations of international law. We repeat the declaration that wrong was done to Belgium, and we are ready to make it good. But in the waging of the war Germany was not the only offender ... Crimes in time of war may be unpardonable, but they are committed in the heat of contest. The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants who have died of the blockade since the eleventh of November were killed in cold blood after the victory had been won. Think of that when you speak of crime and punishment.¹⁰⁸

The complete text of the Versailles conditions was published immediately in Germany in German, French and English versions.¹⁰⁹ The term had been expected to be harsh, and rumors about detailed decisions of the peace conference had started to spread through Germany right after President Wilson's return to Paris in March of 1919. However, the actual demands far surpassed all expectations. The German people were war weary and they had undergone great privations, but they had enough energy left to show their defiance. The National Assembly at Weimar went into

¹⁰⁸ George P. Gooch, Germany (London: E. Benn, 1929), pp. 214-15.

¹⁰⁹ The peace was an extremely harsh one. Thus, the resentment of Brockdorff-Rantzau and the Germans was not entirely without justification.

continuous session. Its debates were long, bitter, and anxious. The bitter struggle for rejection or acceptance cut through all usual party lines. Hindenburg was prepared to oppose the Polish settlement by force of arms. Brockdorff-Rantzau from Versailles recommended rejection. Erzberger argued acceptance,¹¹⁰ and seemed to become the mouthpiece for all those who favored it. Erzberger claimed that rejection would only bring the Allies to Berlin to enforce the terms at the point of the bayonet, and thus cause the entire dissolution of Germany as a nation. Erzberger's arguments got support from an unexpected source namely, General Groener and the High Command. But Scheidemann could not stand the treaty, and on June 10 he and his government resigned. Bauer became chancellor of a new government pledged to acceptance of the Versailles treaty. Erzberger was the new Finance Minister and doubtless exerted an important influence. Hermann Mueller, the Foreign Minister,¹¹¹ and Johannes Bell,¹¹² the Colonial Minister,

¹¹⁰ Fraser, op. cit., p. 33n.

¹¹¹ Hermann Mueller (1876-1931) was a German politician. He was a Social Democrat, and edited the Socialist journal at Goerlitz, 1899-1906. In 1916-18, he was a member of the Reichstag, and he was a member of the National Assembly at Weimar, 1919. Brockdorff-Rantzau relinquished the Foreign Office to him, 1919-20, and he served as the

were sent to Versailles, and they signed the treaty there on June 28, 1919, in deepest humiliation, in the Hall of Mirrors where the German Empire had been proclaimed forty-eight years previous. The German delegates were stoned as they left Paris. The Allied blockade which kept thousands in semi-starvation and disease, was not lifted until the treaty was signed.¹¹³

The Versailles terms were indeed appalling: Germany was to be reduced to moral degradation by the war guilt clauses, and to economic enslavement by an undefined indemnity ("reparations"). In addition to the above she was to lose her colonies, Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar, Eupen, Malmedy, the Danish borderlands, Danzig, the Polish "Corridor," Memel, and upper Silesia. The Reich was completely unable to put up resistance. Both German Nationalists and Socialists were bitterly opposed to the Treaty. Ratifications were exchanged on January 10, 1920. Germany was not allowed

Foreign Minister, during which time he signed the Treaty of Versailles, 1919. From March to June 1920, he served as chancellor, and in 1928-30, he headed a coalition cabinet.

¹¹² Johannes Bell was a Catholic leader of outstanding character.

¹¹³Halperin, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

to become a member of the League of Nations. Wilson had lost his fight. Thus, German democracy was defeated from the beginning.¹¹⁴

If vindictiveness had been tempered with reason and mercy in the execution of the Versailles-Diktat,¹¹⁵ this tremendous blow at German liberalism might have been overcome. However, for five extremely rough years the defenseless German Republic had to suffer one defeat after another and one humiliation after another at the will of David Lloyd George,¹¹⁶ Clemenceau and Poincare.¹¹⁷ The German

¹¹⁴ W. M. Knight-patterson, Germany from Defeat to Conquest 1913-1933 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1945), pp. 250-7.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix, p. 198-99.

¹¹⁶ David Lloyd George was a British statesman, who served as the British Minister of Munitions, 1915-16, and the Secretary of State for war, 1916. He replaced Asquith as Prime Minister, 1916-22, and as virtual dictator, directed Britain's policies to victory in war and in the settlement of the peace terms: see his, War Memoirs (London: 1933-36), 6 Vols.; and The Truth about the Peace (London: 1938), 2 Vols.

¹¹⁷ Raymond Poincare (1860-1934) was a French statesman and writer, and ninth president of the Republic. He served as president, 1913-20, and influenced legislation much more than previous presidents. His oratory and fighting of defeatism sustained patriotism in France during World war I. From 1922-24, he served as Prime Minister again and sent the French army to occupy the Ruhr in 1923.

patriots were filled with rage against those whom they looked upon as the cause of their troubles, and came to connect liberalism and the Weimar Constitution with national paralysis and disgrace. It is difficult to see how the Republic survived at all during these years of suffering and shame.

The aristocrats and plutocrats did not accept the Republic with enthusiasm. They were for the most part monarchists at heart. A farsighted democracy would have tried to gain the favor of Big Business, and would have done away with the Junker feudal system by dividing the eastern estates among the peasants. However, the German Republican leaders did neither. Instead of being grateful for the fact that the Weimar state had saved them from Communism and left them secure in their privileged status, the industrialists and Junkers had contempt for the regime. Very few members of these classes ever accepted the Republic in full faith. Many of them hoped and planned for a restoration of a monarchy. Some of them made terms with the regime, and just waited for something to happen. Others played with reactionary-military adventures and other pseudo-radical activities.

The indulgence shown by the various republican cabinets toward reactionary enemies on the Right was matched

by the severity shown toward revolutionary enemies on the Left. Justice was lenient toward nobles, men of Big Business, army officers, and monarchist putschists who sought to overthrow the constitution. Justice was very harsh toward workers and peasants who planned a proletarian revolution.¹¹⁸ This was largely due to the fact that the police and courts of the Reich stayed, for the most part, in the hands of their previous masters, few of whom respected the Republic. The civil service also remained virtually unchanged. The famous German bureaucracy lost little of its efficiency under the Weimar Republic.¹¹⁹ Also, it lost little of its traditional monarchist leanings. Liberal policies were very badly administered by the reactionary judges and officials. Systems of Republican self-defense were light and ineffective, and were weakened further by their execution. It became obvious that the Republicans who could be expected to crush Radicalism were impotent and apologetic in confronting reaction. The old ruling classes became constantly more scornful. For Junkers and industrialists the Weimar Republic was "safe;"

¹¹⁸ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 20-23.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 25, 378-9.

nevertheless, it was not their state as the old empire had been. They continually waited and hoped. The time to strike, they thought, might come when the Republic sank to lower depths of helplessness or when the masses of the people became disillusioned with democracy.

The most immediate danger came from army circles and from the many "Volunteer corps" of reactionary ex-soldiers whom the Republic authorities relied upon to put down the Spartacists¹²⁰ and to protect the eastern borders. These groups began to plot almost openly the immediate overthrow of the Republic in the fall and winter of 1919. Wolfgang Kapp,¹²¹ Junker spokesman and pan-German super-patriot, conspired with Ludendorff, Captain von Pabst¹²² and General von Luettwitz,¹²³ commander

¹²⁰ Calvin Bryce Hoover, Germany Enters the Third Reich (New York: Macmillan, 1933), p. 35.

¹²¹ Wolfgang Kapp (1858-1922) was a German revolutionist. He was in the Agricultural Ministry of East Prussia, 1906-16, and 1917-20. He opposed Bethmann-Hollweg's policy, and with von Tirpitz founded the German Fatherland Party in 1917. In 1918, he was a member of the Reichstag, and he led the monarchist revolt against the Republican government in March, 1920. He took Berlin and proclaimed himself imperial chancellor. The revolt failed because of a general strike. In 1922, he died in prison while waiting for trial.

¹²² Captain von Pabst is the one who offered to Noske the dictatorship of Germany in March 1920. He spoke

of the Reichswehr, to organize a putsch.¹²⁴ On March 20,¹²⁵ 1920, the revolt struck. The forces of Captain Ehrhardt's Iron Brigade, with the monarchist flag, occupied Berlin

for the Kapp revolutionary groups. One morning Noske found a copy of Reflections on Dictatorship on his desk. One chapter was entitled "The Person." "A dictator, whose task is to save what can yet be saved, must be a personage popular in the broadest circles Anyone looking over the outstanding men of the country will hit on one name as self-evident-Noske. Shortly before the uprising, this offer was renewed orally in the name of the conspirators by Pabst; see, Noske, op. cit., p. 196; also see, E. O. Volkmann, Revolution u  ber Deutschland (Oldenburg, 1930), p. 322.

¹²³ General Walther von Luettwitz delivered a written ultimatum to President Ebert, on March 10, 1920, demanding the immediate transfer of power of the Social Democratic government to neutral experts, that is, high civil servants of the Imperial Reich. The Reichstag was to be dissolved, and there would be elections for a new National Assembly under the auspices of the army-established cabinet. Ebert was to resign; a plebiscite would elect a new Reich President.

¹²⁴ Clark, op. cit., pp. 65ff, 282; Fischer, op. cit., pp. 123-40.

¹²⁵ Captain Hermann Ehrhardt led a "Marine Brigade" into Berlin on the morning of March 13. The men sang as they marched into Berlin:

Hakenkreuz am Stahlhelm,
Schwarzweissrotes Band;
Die Brigade Ehrhardt
Werden wir genannt.

(Translated: A swastika on our helmet, and a black-white-red banner. We are called the Ehrhardt Brigade); see, Rudolf Mann, Mit Ehrhardt durch Deutschland: Erinnerungen eines Mitk  mpfers von der 2. Marinebrigade (Verlin: 1921)

without firing a shot. Upon seeing that the army would not resist the rebels, the President and Cabinet fled to Dresden and later to Stuttgart. Kapp closed all newspapers, arrested the Prussian ministers, and decreed the National Assembly dissolved. The Social Democratic leaders called upon the trade unions to strike. The Nationalists and the German People's Party sympathized with Kapp. The National Association of German Industries also expressed sympathy for Kapp, but the workers laid down their tools and engaged in sporadic rioting in Berlin. Kapp found that he did not have the wherewithal to establish the rebel regime throughout the land. The army and police refused to aid him because of his political mistakes. He was forced to resign on March 17. The revolutionists fled the country in all directions, as the government returned to Berlin on March 21.

The Republic was saved by the general strike, but its leaders had shown themselves to be as ridiculous as the revolutionists. The workers of the Ruhr had taken advantage of the situation in order to start a proletarian revolt and organize a "red army;" however, they were put down in a most ruthless fashion by Noske. Communist uprisings in Leipzig and Halle were violently

CHART II

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED
BY GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, JUNE 6, 1920

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	4	590,000	2.1	147,500.0
Social Democratia (Maj. and Ind.)*	186**	11,151,000	39.6	59,951.6
Democratic	39	2,334,000	8.3	59,846.1
Center and Bavarian People's	85***	5,084,000	19.1	59,811.7
German People's	65	3,919,000	13.9	62,923.0
German Nationalist People's	71	4,249,000	15.1	59,845.0
NSDAP****	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	12	549,300	1.9	45,775.0
Summary:				
Eligible voters		36,949,800		
Votes cast		27,836,300		
Percent of electorate			79.2	
Valid votes		27,550,500		
Percent of votes cast			99.0	

- * The Social Democratic Party of Germany was divided until September, 1922, into Independent and Majority.
- ** 84 of these seats were held by the Independent Socialists.
- *** 21 of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.
- **** National Socialist German Worker's Party.

stopped.¹²⁶ However, the Ebert government paid the rebel soldiers a premium which Kapp had promised them and sent a Republican recruit, who had deserted from the rebel ranks, to jail. Only one putschist was sent to prison. Kapp died in jail while awaiting trial. The others were granted amnesty later. However, there were other Freikorps terrorists,¹²⁷ permitted to roam at large were murderers, super-patriotic assassins and "Fehme," nationalist extremists' terrorist societies, with secret proceedings and death sentences carried out by assassinations, purporting to imitate the popular courts (Fehme) of the fifteenth century Germany when imperial government was too weak to maintain justice. Haase had been murdered in July, 1919.¹²⁸ Erzberger was slain in August, 1921.¹²⁹ Foreign Minister Rathenau, a great organizer of the German War industries and the only brilliant diplomat the Republic had produced up to that time, was also murdered in June 1922¹³⁰ Ebert

¹²⁶ Fischer, op. cit., pp. 99, 413, 128-9

¹²⁷ Young, op. cit., pp. 73ff, 83.

¹²⁸ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 27-8.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 36.

and his government never took effective measures against the reactionary terror.

The indignation of the working classes forced Noske to resign on March 22, 1920. Bauer retired from the chancellery and was replaced by Herman Mueller¹³¹ on March 27. At this time the Weimar Assembly was dissolved. New elections were called for June 6, 1920. The German National People's Party, formerly the Conservatives, campaigned for the restoration of the German unity, return of the monarchical government, the encouragement of a national spirit among the Germans living outside Germany, the return to Germany of all her lost territories and colonies, and the initiation of a vigorous foreign policy. The German People's Party, formerly the National Liberals, advocated the repression of Bolshevism, the creation of a labor branch in the Reichstag, the establishment of experts and non-partisans in the government, and the revision of the Treaty of Versailles. This party emphasized private initiative against the collective motives of Socialism, and sought the cooperation of all parties toward the restoration of economic life based on truly German ideals. The Center Party strongly attacked Communism and the Kapp counter-

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 228ff.

revolution alike, and called itself the party of constitutional loyalty, insisted on the enforcement of the constitution by armed forces if necessary and the putting down of any revolt on the part of revolutionists or reactionaries; denounced class hatred and class rule and insisted on equal rights for all people. The Democratic Party, formerly the Progressive People's Party also sought for the cooperation of all classes. It wanted the restoration of German industry, religious freedom, secularization of public schools, personal initiative and individual reward as against the collective desires of the Socialists, a strong League of Nations, including Germany and Austria. It opposed National centralization, and insisted upon economy in national finance. The Social Democratic Party, consisting of Majority or Moderate Socialists, asked for socialization of industry by popular will, heaviest possible taxation of capital, and centralization of power, and denounced the plans for the restoration of the monarchy. The Independent Socialists, the Left-wing of the Social Democratic Party, demanded a national army of workingmen, liberation of persons arrested for radicalism, disarming and punishment of counter-revolutionists, socialization of all industries, and government confiscation

of large estates. The Communists, the extreme Left, demanded complete abolition of capitalism, and the suppression of the power of the middle class, and discredited the use of parliamentary procedure. The only party mentioned above which pronounced itself frankly in favor of fulfilling the terms of the treaty was the Independent Socialists, although the Majority Socialists did declare that one of the purposes of the heavy taxation of capital was that the terms of the treaty might be fulfilled.¹³²

One can easily see what the electorate wanted by looking at the election results. The three coalition parties which had formed the Republic, namely, Majority Socialists, Centrists, and Democrats, lost heavily in Reichstag representation. Great gains were made by the reactionary Nationalists, the People's Party, and the Independent Socialists. The Communist Party, successors to the Spartacists, had representation for the first time. The results were: Majority Socialists 102 seats, 6,104,000 votes; Independent Socialists 84 seats, 5,047,000 votes; Communists 4 seats, 590,000 votes; Democrats 39 seats, 2,334,000 votes; Center 64 seats, 3,845,000 votes; Bavarian

¹³² The International Year Book, op. cit., year 1920, pp. 283-4.

People's Party 21 seats, 1,239,000 votes; People's Party 65 seats, 3,919,000 votes; German Nationalists 71 seats, 4,249,000 votes; and the minor parties got 12 seats.¹³³

Political moderation began to give way to political extremism. The Weimar coalition was finished. Mueller had to resign. He was honest, slow, conscientious, conciliatory but not a statesman. After the June 1920 elections, the Social Democrats were expelled from the cabinet, and the Centrist leader, Fehrenbach,¹³⁴ formed a new coalition of Centrists, Democrats and the People's Party. He had formerly been president of the Reichstag. His cabinet appointments were as follows: Minister of Justice and vice-chancellor, Heinze;¹³⁵ Foreign Affairs, Dr. Walther

¹³³ Schuman, op. cit., p. 511; Cf., The International Year Book, op. cit., year 1920, p. 284; also Cf., Knight-Patterson, op. cit., p. 283; See Appendix, p. 184. See chart II.

¹³⁴ Knight-Patterson, op. cit., pp. 283ff; Konstantin Fehrenbach (1852-1926) was a German statesman and leader of the Catholic Center Party. He was a member from 1909, and President, 1918, of the Reichstag. He took part in the conferences with the Allies at Spa, 1920, and London, 1921. From 1924, he was chairman of the Reichstag group of Left parties.

¹³⁵ Rudolf Heinze (1865-1928) was a member of the Reichstag, 1907-12, and from 1920. During World War I, he was undersecretary of state in the Turkish Ministry of Justice, 1916-17. After the November Revolution of 1918, he joined the German People's Party and was a member of the

Simons; Finance, Dr. Wirth;¹³⁶ Interior Koch-Weser;¹³⁷
 Defense, Gessler;¹³⁸ Transport, General Groener; Food,
 Hermes;¹³⁹ Posts and Telegraphs, Giesberts;¹⁴⁰ Economics,
 Scholz;¹⁴¹ Treasury, von Raumer.¹⁴² The new Reichstag

Weimar National Assembly, 1919. In 1920-21 and 1922-23, he was Minister of Justice and vice-chancellor of Germany.

¹³⁶ Karl Joseph Wirth was a German politician, and member of the Catholic Center Party. He was a member of the Reichstag 1914, and 1920-33. He accepted the reparations terms of the Allies (London ultimatum) and announced a policy of fulfillment, but withdrew following a disagreement over the partition of Upper Silesia. In 1922, he represented Germany at the Genoa Conference, and later became leader of the Left group of the Center Party.

¹³⁷ Erich Koch-Weser (1875-1944) was a German statesman and political reformer, who was a member of the Reichstag, 1920-30, where he was the leader of the Democrats, 1923-28, and party chairman, 1927. In 1928-29, he was Minister of Justice. He later founded the short lived German State Party.

¹³⁸ Otto Gessler was a German statesman, who served as Minister of Reconstruction, 1919-20, and succeeded Noske as Reichswehr leader, 1920. He was Minister of Defense, 1920-28.

¹³⁹ Andreas Hermes was a member of the Center Party. He later became Minister of Finance.

¹⁴⁰ Johann Giesberts was a member of the Center Party.

¹⁴¹ Ernst Scholz was the leader of the People's Party. He attempted, without success, to unite all of the middle parties.

¹⁴² Hans Raumer was a German economist, and he was the business manager of the German electrochemical industries, 1918. He was a member of the German People's

met June 25, and elected as its president Paul Loebe,¹⁴³
 a Majority Socialist and as vice-President, Wilhelm
 Dittmann.¹⁴⁴

The fantastic Allied demands for reparations¹⁴⁵
 led to the ministry's collapse in May, 1921. A revived
 Weimar coalition of Socialists, Democrats and Centrists
 under the leadership of Wirth¹⁴⁶ pledged "fulfillment,"
 but failed miserably and fell in defeat in November, 1922,
 when the Socialists, reunited with the Independents since
 September, 1922, withdrew their support rather than allow
 the People's Party to enter the Cabinet. William Cuno,¹⁴⁷

Party in the Reichstag, 1920-30, and Minister of the
 Treasury, 1920-21, and Minister of economics in Stresemann's
 first Cabinet, 1923.

¹⁴³ Paul Loebe was the leader of the Social Democrats.
 He was president of the Reichstag in 1925 when Hindenburg
 was inaugurated.

¹⁴⁴ Wilhelm Dittmann was an Independent Socialist,
 but he took a moderate view of things.

¹⁴⁵ Fraser, op. cit., pp. 60-62.

¹⁴⁶ Erich Koch-Weser, Germany in the Post War World
 (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, Inc., 1930), p. 88;
 also see, Halperin, op. cit., pp. 203ff.

¹⁴⁷ Wilhelm Cuno (1876-1933) was a German states-
 man and business man who entered government service, and
 during World War I, he had charge of the grain office,
 1914-16. In 1916-17, he was the chief assistant in the
 food department. He was chancellor for a few months,

industrialist, formed an "experts" Cabinet,¹⁴⁸ at this time, of conservative nature and tried to combat the new threats of ruin. The Reparations Commission had decided in May, 1921, that Germany must pay some thirty-two billion dollars to the Allies.¹⁴⁹ The Reich was forced to accept this arrangement by threats of further military occupation.¹⁵⁰ The schedule, naturally, broke down very soon. On January 9, 1923, Germany was declared in voluntary default by the Commission.¹⁵¹ French and Belgian troops moved into the Ruhr on January 11 and took charge of the big mills, mines, and steel plants which are massed together over the richest bed of coking coal in Western Europe. With the complete support of all classes and the full approval of Hugo Stinnes¹⁵² and other industrialists who were generously compensated for their losses, the Cuno

November 1922-August 1923, in Republican Germany.

¹⁴⁸ Koch-Weser, Op. cit., pp. 91-5

¹⁴⁹ Fraser, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁵⁰ Hugh Quigley, and R. T. Clark, Republican Germany (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1928), pp. 299-300.

¹⁵¹ Fraser, op. cit., pp. 69-70; also see, Halperin, op. cit., pp. 141, 144; Cf., Fischer, op. cit., pp. 189-91, 227, 518.

¹⁵² Godfrey Scheele, The Weimar Republic (London:

Cabinet contested the legality of the occupation, and resorted to "passive resistance." This policy of obstructionism and default contributed to the disorganization of the entire financial and economic structure of the country. The mark had already fallen to 14,000 to the dollar when the Ruhr adventure began. The financing of passive resistance by the printing press method carried German currency to disaster. By the end of the year one dollar was worth more than 4,000,000,000,000 marks.¹⁵³ Cuno resigned in August in favor of Gustav Stresemann, leader of the People's Party,¹⁵⁴ who formed a "Great Coalition" Cabinet, in which he included Democrats, Socialists, and Centrists as well as members of his own party.

Stresemann held the chancellorship for a very short period, August to November, 1923. On October 13, by a vote of 316 to 24 (with seven members not voting and Hugo Stinnes casting a blank ballot), the Reichstag passed Stresemann's Authorization Bill. This bill gave the government of the Reich authority to take, "in financial, economic, and social spheres, the measures which it deems

¹⁵³ Knight-Patterson, op. cit., p. 307; also see Appendix, p. 189.

¹⁵⁴ Scheele, op. cit., pp. 232ff.

necessary and urgent, regardless of the rights specified in the constitution of the Reich." Regulations concerning the hours of labor or decreases in pensions and allowances were not included under this authorization. The law was to expire with the term of office of the Cabinet, or in any case by March 31, 1924;¹⁵⁵ however, it was decisive for the immediate fortunes of the nation. Poincare had been opposed in his effort to collect reparations by violence and to mine coal with arms. Nevertheless, inflation and economic collapse had driven the German middle class (Kleinburgertum) and the proletariat to the wall, and threatened to renew the attempts of revolution on both the Right and Left. The day was to be saved only by surrender. Stresemann discarded passive resistance and later, as Foreign Minister in the cabinet of Wilhelm Marx,¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ The New International Year Book, op. cit., year 1923, p. 289. Stresemann's Authorization Bill of 1923 can be compared quite interestingly with Hitler's Enabling Act of 1933. It is interesting to note that the powers granted were almost identical, and they were both granted for a definite period. Both of them had a clause stating that the law would expire with the term of office of that particular cabinet, or by a specific date. Likewise, both of the laws disregarded constitutional rights. See Appendix, p. 213, for the text of Stresemann's Authorization Bill, and See Chapter V for the text of Hitler's Enabling Act.

¹⁵⁶ Wilhelm Marx was a German statesman, who served as a member of the Reichstag from 1910. He was chancellor of Germany, 1923-24, 1926, and 1927-28.

he was able to get the stop-gap "Dawes Plan" of 1924 accepted.¹⁵⁷ The new schedule of reparation payments temporarily removed the problem from the sphere of international controversy; however, it did not quiet the outcries of patriotic Germans against "tribute slavery." Chancellor Stresemann also had struck with effect at anti-Republican forces, but again, as in the past, he aimed his most severe blows at the less dangerous Left, and his lightest ones at the Right where the greater danger lay. Marxist Radicalism threatened property rights; Monarchist reaction threatened democracy or personal rights. And while Stresemann used troops and shed blood to oust a Socialist-Communist coalition Cabinet in Saxony on the ground that it was plotting to establish a Soviet Republic,¹⁵⁸ he did little against the strange and dangerous combination of reactionary putschists which had assembled in Munich in the fall of 1922.

The Munich episode of the troublous days was prophetic. Bavarian Premier von Kahr,¹⁵⁹ Police Lieutenant von

¹⁵⁷ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 51, 55.

¹⁵⁸ Clark, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

¹⁵⁹ Gustav von Kahr (1862-1934) was a Bavarian statesman who was appointed general Commissioner of State,

CHART III

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED
BY GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, MAY 4, 1924

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	62	3,693,100	12.6	59,566.1
Social Democratic	100	6,243,900	21.3	62,439.0
Democratic	28	1,655,000	5.6	59,107.1
Center and Bavarian People's	81*	4,861,000	16.6	60,012.3
German People's	45	2,694,300	9.2	59,875.3
German Nationalist People's	95	5,696,400	19.5	59,962.1
NSDAP**	32	1,927,900	6.6	60,246.8
Other Parties	9	2,509,600	8.6	278,844.4
<hr/>				
Summary:	Eligible voters	38,375,000		
	Votes cast	29,708,800		
	Percent of electorate		77.4	
	Valid votes	29,281,200		
	Percent of votes cast		98.6	

* 16 of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Seisser¹⁶⁰ and General von Lossow¹⁶¹ of the Reichstag, with the backing of several freicorps leaders and adventurous soldiers, were obscurely planning treason, whether for Bavarian secession, a Wittelsbach¹⁶² restoration, or a revolt against the Republic in Berlin was not quite clear, even to those participating. In need of a crowd-compeller to win mass support, they secured one in a man of low estate, and Austrian housepainter, once a corporal in the German army, who had taken cative part in Munich politics as an anti-Semitic agitator and risen to be the leader of a group of Ultra-patriotic Radicals who called themselves the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP or Nazis).¹⁶³ The former corporal desired to push Kahr, Seisser and Lossow into a putsch to "clear out the Jewish-Marxist pigsty in Berlin." They would not commit themselves, however. November 9, 1923, the Austrian orator

¹⁶⁰ Colonel Hans von Seisser, commander of the Bavarian police and a member of the small coterie around Kahr, went from the Kahr faction as an emissary to Berlin.

¹⁶¹ General Otto von Lossow, another of the Kahr clique, succeeded Epp as the commander of the Bavarian Reichswehr.

¹⁶² The Wittelsbachs were one of the four oldest princely houses in Germany. They ruled Upper Bavariz, the County Palatine of the Rhine, and Lower Bavaria.

¹⁶³ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op.

invaded a beer hall where they were speaking and forced them at gun point to proclaim the "national revolution." They promised support, but withdrew and refused cooperation the following morning. When the "National Socialist," including Ludendorff, attempted to parade they were fired upon and scattered by police and troops at the Odeonplatz, sixteen of them being killed.¹⁶⁴ Kahr and his associates made peace and reconciliation with Berlin. The "patriotic" Austrian received a light sentence and in December 1924 he was released from his quite comfortable jail in Landsberg-am-Lech. The Austrian was none other than Adolf Hitler.

This was but one of the many incidents in a year of turmoil and despair. The tides of reaction ebbed and flowed, but gradually, as currency stability and some measure of economic security was established, they temporarily diminished.

cit., pp. XV-XVI, 3-28; also see Appendix, p. 218. for a picture of Hitler.

¹⁶⁴ Hitler und Kahr die Bayerischen Napoleonsposen von 1923 (Edited by the Landesvorstand der SPD in Bayern: Munich: 1928), 2 Vols., et passim. Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 104-6.

A new Reichstag election was called for May 4, 1924. In the election campaign before the Reichstag election, Stresemann indicated a desire to return to the monarchy. As the leader of the People's Party he held the belief that a Republican governmental system was not suited to the German nation and peoples. However, the People's Party took no definite attitude against the existing republic. The Nationalists, nevertheless, took up the cry, "one people, one nation, one empire." The German National People's Party, which must be distinguished from the People's Party, published a manifesto which demanded the restoration of the empire, authorized the repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles, advocated military training for young men, denied the German war guilt, called for the reestablishment of Germany along lines laid down by Bismarck, and argued that the Reichstag must be reduced to a subordinate position. These extreme views did not impress the German public very much. Thus, Marx, leader of the Centrists, won general support to his more moderate program. He denounced continuously all the attempts of the extremists, whether of the Right or Left, to overthrow the Republican form of government; and, although he condemned the French Nationalists for their violent policies in the Ruhr, the Rhineland, and the Palatinate, blaming this

group and their violent measures for the answering violence of the Nationalists in Germany, he deprecated the common attacks on France as unwise and futile.

In the election the Socialists fell from 186 seats, Independent and Majority combined, to 100; the People's Party fell from 65 to 45; the Democrats fell from 39 to 28; the Bavarian People's Party fell from 21 to 16. The Communists had a very large increase from 71 to 95 seats; and the NSDAP came in for the first time with 32 seats. The moderate parties lost heavily.¹⁶⁵ Stresemann almost gave up hope, but Centrist chancellor Marx continued to carry on. The election had returned a majority that favored a qualified acceptance of the Dawes Plan and support of the republic. This group also stood by the so-called "policy of fulfillment." The extremists in the above groups were the People's Freedom Party on the Right, which violently attacked these three principles of policy, and on the Left, the Communists led by a Jewess known as

¹⁶⁵ Schuman, op. cit., p. 511. The popular vote was as follows: Social Democrats, Independent and Majority, 6,243,900 votes; People's party, 2,694,300 votes; the Democrats, 1,655,000 votes; Bavarian People's Party and the Center Party together, 4,861,000 votes; Communists, 3,693,100 votes; Nationalists, 5,696,400 votes; and the NSDAP, 1,927,900 votes. See Chart # IV.

CHART IV

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY G
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, DECEMBER 7, 1924

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	45	2,709,100	8.9	60,202.0
Social Democratic	131	7,979,900	26.4	60,915.2
Democratic	32	1,919,800	6.3	59,993.7
Center and Bavarian People's	88*	5,252,900	17.3	59,672.0
German People's	51	3,049,100	10.1	59,786.2
German Nationalist People's	103	6,205,800	20.5	60,025.0
NSDAP**	14	910,600	3.0	65,042.8
Other Parties	29	2,262,900	7.5	78,031.0
Summary:				
	Eligible voters	38,987,300		
	Votes cast	30,705,000		
	Percent of electorate	78.8		
	Valid votes	30,290,100		
	Percent of votes cast	98.6		

* 19 of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Ruth Fischer¹⁶⁶ who were also extremely aggressive. Although the more violent National element was expected to gain in power because of the French policy in the Ruhr, it did not make the anticipated gain.

Even so, the action of the French in the Ruhr continued to irritate the German public. And while, in the period immediately before the election there had been indications of progress in various fields of industry, especilly in the production of coal, there had also been unrest. Those elements in the working classes which had caught the spirit of Communism gave signs of discontent, and various strikes and lockouts occurred in the Ruhr Valley and in the districts of Chemnitz and Zwickau. The workers, insisting on the eight hour day, developed a movement that early in May affected about 400,000 men.¹⁶⁷

During the summer and early fall there was a demand throughout Germany by the Nationalist press for the election of a new president. At the beginning of October the People's party, of whom Stresemann was leader, threatened hostilities if Nationalists were not admitted to the

¹⁶⁶ Fischer, op. cit., et passim.

¹⁶⁷ The New International Year Book, op. cit., year 1924.

cabinet. The chancellor replied that loyal Nationalists would not be objected to but that he would have nothing to do with Junkers or other enemies of the government. The chancellor in the fall proposed measures for the reorganization of the cabinet on a broader parliamentary basis, but he failed because of the opposition of the Democrats, who refused to take part in a cabinet that admitted avowed monarchists. Thus, the ministry was left without sufficient support in the Reichstag. Therefore, the deadlock in parliament, where two irreconcilable and irresponsible extremes were able to paralyze the Center parties, led to new elections again on December 7, 1924. In this election the extremists declined. The Communists lost 17 seats; the Socialists gained 31; the Democrats gained 4; the Center Party gained 4; the People's Party gained 6; the NSDAP lost 18 seats; but the Nationalists, however, gained 8 seats and could no longer be left out of the political planning.¹⁶⁸ Early in 1925, a Centrist, People's Party, Nationalist coalition under "non-partisan" Hans Luther¹⁶⁹ was established. Nationalists had replaced

¹⁶⁸ Schuman, op. cit., p. 511; see Appendix, p. 180.

¹⁶⁹ Hans Luther was a German economist and statesman who served as Minister of Finance in Stresemann's

Socialists in the cabinet. The slow turn toward the right was conspicuous. But the dawn of peace, appeasement and prosperity promised a lessening of extremism and salvation for the Republic.

The presidential election of 1925 brought new fears to the Republicans, followed by reassurance. The death of Ebert initiated a confused campaign in which seven candidates sought the office. In the voting of March 29, 1925, Jarres,¹⁷⁰ the Nationalist's and the People's Party candidate received 10,400,000 votes; however, this was not a majority. Otto Braun,¹⁷¹ the Socialist, got almost 8,000,000 votes; Wilhelm Marx got almost 4,000,000; and Ernst Thaelmann,¹⁷² the Communist candidate, got 1,871,000.

second ministry and in Marx's ministry. He negotiated the Dawes loan for Germany, 1924, succeeded Schacht as governor of the Reichsbank to 1933, and was the German ambassador in Washington, 1933-37.

¹⁷⁰ Karl Jarres was the mayor of Duisburg. During the struggle in the Ruhr, he made a fine record for himself, and won a great deal of popularity.

¹⁷¹ Otto Braun, a Prussian political leader, was a Social Democratic member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, 1913, and of the German National Assembly, 1919-20. He served in the Reichstag from 1920.

¹⁷² Ernst Thaelmann was a German Communist leader, a member of the Reichstag, 1924, and the first leader, 1925, of the newly founded Red Front combat group. He was arrested and imprisoned during the National Socialist Revolution.

The other candidates trailed far behind. The constitution required a second election.

The election laws provided by the constitution called for an absolute majority in the election of the Reich's president. If a majority was not obtained by any candidate, a second election was to be hold wherein the two or three with the largest number of votes would participate. This law, however, was never used. Shortly before the 1925 presidential election a law was passed whereby a candidate needed a majority in order to be elected in the first election; however, if none of the candidates received a majority a second election was to be held wherein all of the candidates could participate, and new candidates could enter the field. It was under the latter provision that Hindenburg entered the race in 1925.

Because the Center and Left parties, except the Communists, were afraid of the reactionary support of Jarres, they all agreed to support Marx; therefore, the monarchists and reactionaries, after persuading Jarres to withdraw, persuaded the aged Hindenburg to come out of his retirement and save the day. He won the election of April 26th with 14,655,000 votes to Marx's 13,751,000 and

Thaelmann's 1,931,000.¹⁷³ The Republicans were very much surprised. The reaction had won a victory and with Hindenburg as its tool it would destroy the Weimar regime. Nevertheless, Hindenburg took his oath to the constitution and for seven years, to the disappointment of the reactionary supporters, he remained true to its principles. Thus, the Republic was saved, but the reaction bided its time, and time justified its hope.¹⁷⁴

Although American and British capital brought prosperity to Germany, the fact that this prosperity was built upon quicksand was not welcomed in England, France and the United States any more than in Germany. Industrialists and Junkers felt secure for a few short years and withdrew most of their support from anti-Republican organizations. Workers and peasants also shared in the prosperity and felt reassured. But the great inflation with its accompanying impoverishment and degradation had left an unhappy feeling.

In spite of chronic instability and periodical crises, parliamentary politics reflected the new optimism. In May 1926, the Luther cabinet fell on the flag issue,¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Meinrad Hagmann, Der Weg Ins Verhaengnis (Munich: Michael Beckstein Verlag, 1946), p. 38.

¹⁷⁴ Clark, op. cit., pp. 115-16.

CHART V

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, MAY 20, 1928

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	54	3,262,900	10.6	60,424.0
Social Democratic	153	9,171,300	29.8	59,943.1
Democratic	25	1,504,700	4.9	60,188.0
Center and Bavarian People's	78*	4,656,100	15.2	59,693.5
German People's	45	2,678,500	8.7	59,511.1
German Nationalist People's	73	4,380,200	14.3	60,002.7
NSDAP**	12	1,076,300	3.5	89,691.6
Other Parties	51	4,008,800	13.0	78,603.9
<hr/>				
Summary:	Eligible voters	41,224,700		
	Votes cast	31,167,200		
	Percent of electorate		75.6	
	Valid votes	30,738,800		
	Percent of votes cast		98.6	

* 16 of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

but it was reorganized under Marx, only to fall again in December under Socialist opposition. The deadlock of January 1927, was resolved with the formation of a Center-Right coalition, again under Marx, with the support of the Nationalist, the People's Party, the Centrists and the Bavarian People's Party. The election of May 28, 1928, resulted in a great gain on the Left. The chief issue in this election was the continuation of Stresemann's policy of international peace and reconciliation. The parties of the Left were in favor of such a plan, while the parties of the Right opposed it. The Communists increased their Reichstag representation from 45 to 54, and the Socialists from 131 to 153. The Democrats dropped from 32 to 25 and the Center party from 69 to 62, but the reactionaries loss was much heavier. The German People's Party, with 51 representatives before the election, retained only 45 after the votes were counted. The Nationalists, entering the election with 103 seats, were cut back to 73. Hitler's radical party, with only 14 seats in May 1928, as compared

175 Scheele, op. cit., pp. 135-6; The Republicans championed the black-red-gold of 1848 as the national banner, while the reactionaries favored the monarchist white-black-red.

with 32 up to December 1924, received only 12 in the May election.¹⁷⁶ The Marx cabinet resigned on June 12th and was succeeded by a Socialist, Democratic-People's Party coalition headed by Hermann Mueller and tolerated by the Center Party.¹⁷⁷ This cabinet had a longer life than any of the previous cabinets. For a year and nine months the Socialist chancellor presided over Germany's last liberal and entirely parliamentary ministry.

The really one great statesman of this period was Stresemann, the Foreign Minister from 1923 to 1929. He kept the friendly relations with Soviet Russia which Rathenau had created by the Treaty of Rapallo, 1922,¹⁷⁸ while refusing the popular conception of an entente with Moscow against the Allies. In August, 1924, he was successful in obtaining enough Nationalist support to get Reichstag

¹⁷⁶ Scheele, op. cit., p. 511; see Appendix, p. 180. The popular vote in this election was as follows: Communists, 3,262,900 votes; Social Democrats, 9,171,300 votes; Democrats, 1,504,700 votes; Center and Bavarian People's Party together, 4,656,100 votes; German People's Party, 2,678,500 votes; Nationalists, 4,380,200 votes; and the NSDAP, 1,076,300 votes. See Chart #5.

¹⁷⁷ Neumann, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁷⁸ Koch-Weser, op. cit., p. 90.

acceptance of the Dawes Plan by a small margin.¹⁷⁹ The voters expressed their approbation in the December election. Stresemann, in cooperation with Briand,¹⁸⁰ next worked for a definite settlement of post-war problems. By the Locarno Treaty of 1925, Germany accepted and guaranteed the demilitarization of the Rhineland and the new frontiers in the west.¹⁸¹ Italy and England agreed to support either France or Germany against possible aggression from the other, and the Reich was made a member of the League of Nations in September, 1926.¹⁸² Stresemann had to steer a devious course between the Socialists, who were constantly dissatisfied with his domestic program, and the Nationalists who continually assailed his foreign policy as weak and futile. The monarchist leader, Alfred Hugenberg,¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 103ff; also see, Rufus Cutler Dawes, The Dawes Plan in the Making (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925), et. passim.

¹⁸⁰ Aristide Briand (1862-1932), a French statesman and journalist, served as Prime Minister of France, 1921-22, and was Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1925-32. Stresemann and Briand were jointly awarded the Nobel peace prize for 1926.

¹⁸¹ Koch-Weser, op. cit., pp. 106ff.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁸³ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 52-3.

a magnate of the press and theater, was an ultra-Reactionary industrialist and an ambitious, unscrupulous demagogue whose chief concern in all decisions was concerned with his personal and party fortunes. Behind a facade of passionate patriotism, he and his fellow reactionaries, war veterans of the Stahlhelm,¹⁸⁴ and Hitler's Nazis, accused Stresemann of being a traitor. In an effort to defeat him and to nullify the Young Plan of 1929,¹⁸⁵ formed as a reduced schedule of reparations payments, they instigated a popular initiative vote on a bill declaring that acceptance of the Plan would be an act of high treason. On November 3, 1929, they barely gained the ten per cent vote needed to place the bill before the Reichstag. The more moderate Nationalists turned from Hugenberg, and the bill was overwhelmingly defeated, both in the Reichstag and later in a national referendum. Schacht,¹⁸⁶ president of

¹⁸⁴ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 284-6; "Steel Helmet" was an organization of war veterans, led by Franz Seldte and Theodore Duesterberg.

¹⁸⁵ Koch-Weser, op. cit., pp. 118ff.

¹⁸⁶ Horace Greely Hjalmar Schacht was a German financier who served as the Commissioner of currency for Germany, 1923. He was the President of the Reichsbank, 1923-30, and 1933-39, and Acting Minister of National Economy, 1934-37.

the Reichsbank, abandoned his original signature of the Young Plan and joined the reactionaries in denouncing it. The Young Plan, however, passed the Reichstag and was definitely accepted in January 1930. By signing it in defiance of the reactionaries, Hindenburg infuriated the super-Patriotic Nationalists and Nazis and made himself the idol of all liberals. By June all Allied troops had left the Rhineland, five years before the date of evacuation set forth by the Treaty. Thus, the Republic was saved once again.

Stresemann died on October 3, 1929. In the same year came the great New York stock exchange crash. Although for the moment the Weimar regime appeared to be stable and secure, in the Great Depression the Republic would fall.

That economic impoverishment breeds political intolerance has become a truism. It has also become a truism to say that public fanaticism shows private discontent, and that violent revolutionaries are, as a rule, maladjusted personalities who have transferred the resentments of private frustrations into the field of public affairs. This is certainly true when applied to Germany during the period 1930 to 1933. The impact of the Great Depression afflicted different classes in different ways and produced widely differing consequences in the political attitudes and

actions. Material deprivation causes psychic traumas and tensions of major proportion not among those already used to want, but among those who have had much and have aspired hopefully toward a higher place in the social system. Although the German proletariat as a whole sank helplessly and passively into the morass of poverty, increasing numbers of workers joined the Communist Party and dreamed of the proletarian revolution,¹⁸⁷ and some were captured by the revolutionary rhetoric of Hitler's orations,¹⁸⁸ the ultra-patriotic emotional emphasis of his pageantry,¹⁸⁹ his baby kissing, and the parading of his private troops.¹⁹⁰ The large majority of the German people, however, remained with the Social Democratic Party and trade unions. But with unemployment constantly increasing¹⁹¹ and semi-starvation upon them, they lost the will and the means to fight either for Socialism or the preservation of political democracy.

At the other extreme of the social ladder, Junkers and industrialists, in the face of real or imaginary threats

¹⁸⁷ Scheele, op. cit., pp. 153ff.

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix, pp. 198, 208, 216, 228.

¹⁸⁹ See Appendix, pp. 208, 210, 225-27.

¹⁹⁰ See Appendix, pp. 202, 204-07, 209-10.

¹⁹¹ See Appendix, p. 187.

of proletarian Radicalism, became more reactionary and anti-Republican than ever. They were however, too wise to attempt to revive the empty hope of monarchical restoration. The middle classes were hardest hit by the depression, psychologically if not materially, because for a second time within a ten year period they were faced with bankruptcy, possible inflation and bitter degradation down to a semi-proletarian level. Thus, turning savagely upon the empty liberalism of Weimar, they took Fascism as a way of salvation.

Fascism, a product of economic and social disintegration, was, as a political philosophy, most attractive to those groups which, lacking reserves of wealth and spiritual strength, were thus most severely hit by adversity. It found a large following among the marginal classes who were constantly reaching toward a position in plutocracy and who, caught between the forces of organized labor and monopolistic big business, always found themselves in a precarious position. And it embraced a large group of extreme Nationalists, who in the twentieth century came to the point of making Nationalism their religion.

In Germany, Fascism took a somewhat different form, however, than it did in Italy, Austria, Japan, and Spain,

in that after 1929 Junkers and industrialists turned in increasing numbers toward reactionary anti-Republican intrigue. They found their tools in the ranks of the reactionary militarists and politicians and finally, in the NSDAP movement led by Adolf Hitler.¹⁹² The Messiah of the NSDAP incorporated within himself the frustrations and resentments of millions of lower middle-class people and millions of disgruntled exsoldiers.

Hitler's first converts were crushed by the failure of the Munich putsch of 1923.¹⁹³ The NSDAP got nowhere so long as the middle classes were relatively secure and prosperous. However, with the coming of the depression, the techniques of super-salesmanship, ultra-patriotism and mass pageantry proved more effective, and millions were converted to a new faith which promised a million year salvation under der Fuehrer. Industrialists and Junkers were won by the anti-Marxist tenets of the Nazi creed. Reassured that the anti-aristocratic and anti-capitalistic slogans were merely bait to win the masses, they contributed generously with money and influential political

¹⁹² Lengyel, op. cit., et passim; also Heiden, Der Fuehrer, op. cit., et passim.

¹⁹³ See Appendix, p. 205.

support. Liberals remained tolerant of the advocates of democracy to those determined to use them to destroy democracy. The final victory of Fascism was a victory by default.

Chancellor Mueller and the other Social Democrats in the cabinet resigned on March 27, 1930, because of irreconcilable differences with the German People's Party over the question of how money was to be raised to pay the deficite in unemployment insurance fund. Heinrich Bruening, Centrist leader, became head of the new cabinet on March 28th.¹⁹⁴ Although wholeheartedly a liberal, he was to open the way unknowingly for the destruction of German democracy. Because of the emergency and the deadlock in the Reichstag, Hindenburg assured the chancellor that he did not require a parliamentary majority; therefore, when his bills to increase taxation met defeat in the Reichstag, he did not resign but proceeded by issuing emergency decrees under Article 48 of the constitution.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Heinrich Bruening was a member, 1924-33, and leader, 1929, of the Center Party in the Reichstag, and proponent of the "Lex Bruening," dealing with tax reforms, 1925. He was chancellor of Germany, 1930-32, and a lecturer and tutor at Harvard, 1937-39.

¹⁹⁵ Young, op. cit., p. 280; Kraus, op. cit., p.

CHART VI

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, SEPTEMBER 14, 1930

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	77	4,592,100	13.1	59,507.7
Social Democratic	143	8,577,700	24.5	59,983.9
Democratic	20	1,322,400	3.8	66,120.0
Center and Bavarian People's	87*	5,187,000	14.9	59,505.7
German People's	30	1,578,200	4.5	52,606.6
German Nationalist People's	41	2,458,300	7.0	58,007.3
NSDAP**	107	6,409,600	18.3	59,897.1
Other Parties	62	4,845,600	13.9	78,154.8
Summary:		Eligible voters	42,957,700	
		Votes cast	35,225,800	
		Percent of electorate	82.0	
		Valid votes	34,970,900	
		Percent of votes cast	99.3	

* 19 of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

On July 18, 1930, the Reichstag called for the cancellation of the decrees by a vote of 236 to 221, and Bruening dissolved the Reichstag and called for new elections.

The September 14th, 1930 election was the first step toward the end of the Weimar Republic. The NSDAP platform was extremely Nationalistic. It called for the acuttling of both parliamentary government in Germany and the entire foreign policy of Stresemann and Curtius, based on cooperation with the League of Nations and with the European Powers in the economic reconstruction of Europe. Opposing the Versailles Treaty, Young Plan, League of Nations, and Locarno Pact, the Hitlerites demanded the return of territory, including the colonies, severed from Germany by the peace Treaty, withdrawal of "the war-guilt lie," union of Germany and Austria, and the elimination of foreign elements, particularly Jews, from German national life. In the economic sphere, they favored heavy taxation of the rich in the interest of the working man, the poor, and the small middle-class shopkeeper, abolition of unearned income, repayment of war profits, nationalization

190, Article 48; It was in virtue of the article corresponding to this in the provisional constitution that Berlin attacked and suppressed the Council Governments set up in Munich, Brunswick, Bremen, and elsewhere.

of the great trusts, a share for the government in all large business undertakings, and the communization of the great department stores.

With such a platform, Hitler's NSDAP increased its representation from 12 to 107 and became the second largest party in the country. The Communists increased their representation from 54 to 77. Social Democrats lost 10 representatives, leaving them only 143. The Democratic (state) Party was left with only 20 representatives. The Center Party gained 6 members, making a total of 68; but the German People's Party lost 15, and the Nationalists lost 32.¹⁹⁶

The national reaction was turning toward NSDAP extremism. Hitler asserted confidentially that "heads will roll." Upon the Reichstag reconvention on October 13th, NSDAP mobs broke windows in neighboring Jewish shops as the Hitlerite representatives to the Reichstag took their places clad in the brown uniforms of the party's

¹⁹⁶ Schuman, op. cit., p. 144; also see, Hagmann, op. cit., pp. 9-38. The popular votes in this election were as follows: the NSDAP, 6,409,600 votes; Communists, 4,592,100 votes; Social Democrats, 8,577,700 votes; Democrats, 1,322,400 votes; the Center and Bavarian People's Parties together, 5, 187,000 votes; German People's Party, 1,578,200 votes; and the Nationalists, 2,458,000 votes. See Chart #6.

Storm Troopers. They demanded the abrogation of the Young Plan and of the Treaty of Versailles and a National war of liberation.

In distress, the Socialists decided to support Bruening in return for Centrist support of the Socialist cabinet of Prussia. On October 18th, the Reichstag upheld Bruening by a vote of 318 to 236 and then adjourned until December 3rd. New emergency decrees followed, and were approved by the Reichstag, 292 to 254, on December 6th, with Communists, NSDAP, and Nationalists voting against the cabinet. In February 1931, the 107 NSDAP, the 41 Nationalists and a few other reactionaries dramatically abandoned the Reichstag. The rump sessions voted confidence in Bruening and adjourned until the following October.

The conditions were ideal for the growth of NSDAP influence. Hitler at this time received support from Hugenberg, the leader of the German Nationalist Party, a man who could be compared to Hearst, and who appropriated his huge newspaper interests for the promotion of extreme chauvinist and reactionary politics. On October 10, 1931, Hitler was received by Hindenburg for the first time.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Schuman, op. cit., p. 149.

The conference was not significant, but it was an indication of Hitler's rising importance. Hitler went to Bad Harzburg in Brunswick at this time to attend Hugenberg's huge rally of the Veterans' organization, Stahlhelm, the NSDAP, and the Nationalist; and there, he and Hugenberg formed a National Front against the Bruening government.¹⁹⁸ In the Presidential election of April 1932, Hitler won 13,000,000 votes as against Hindenburg's 19,000,000 votes.¹⁹⁹

On April 13th, Hindenburg signed a decree dissolving the NSDAP's S. A. and S. S.; however, it was too late; by this time nothing other than civil war could have checked Hitler and the NSDAP from rising to ultimate power. During his last days of office, Bruening resorted to quite undemocratic methods to maintain the democratic government. However, Hindenburg refused to sign a series of these decrees which were intended to balance the budget by new tax increases and new pension decreases. Hindenburg, more than likely, was alarmed by Bruening's plan for settling groups of unemployed on derelict Junker estates in East

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 149, 159, 189.

¹⁹⁹ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 168-69; also see, Hagmann, op. cit., p. 38.

Prussia. Bruening resigned on May 30, 1932.

This indices revealed clearly enough the extent of the economic recession. Since 1929, industrial production had fallen by almost a half, and prices by almost one-fourth. Unemployment had risen from 2,000,000 to 6,000,000²⁰⁰ as of January 1932. Bruening had, in effect repudiated all of Germany's "political payments," but the relief from this had not been very great. Bruening's last budget showed a deficit of \$400,000,000. And as Germany teetered on the brink of economic collapse, the Nazis gained in power and favor. In January 1930, the NSDAP membership was 200,000; in January 1931, 400,000; In January, 1932 900,000; and by June of the same year it had soared to 1,200,000.²⁰¹

Hindenburg appointed Franz von Papen as chancellor on May 31, 1932,²⁰² and he began his ministry by placating Hitler and removing Bruening's late ban on the S. A. and S. S. The NSDAP took up again their interrupted activities,

²⁰⁰ Hoover, op. cit., pp. 11-13; also see Appendix, p. 187.

²⁰¹ Schuman op. cit., pp. 72-3.

²⁰² Grzesinski, op. cit., p. 152ff.

their meetings, their parades, their broadcasts, their terrorism, and especially their preparations for new promised elections to the Reichstag.²⁰³

Two elections were held in 1932. The first was in July, and the results were as follows: the Communists got 89 seats, an increase of twelve; the NSDAP won 230 seats, an overwhelming increase of 123 seats; the Social Democrats got 133 seats, a decrease of ten; the Center Party got 75, an increase of seven; and the German People's Party received only 7 seats, a decrease of 23.²⁰⁴ In the second election, held in November, the Communists received 100 seats, an increase of eleven; the Social Democrats got only 70, a loss of five; the German National People's Party increased their representation from 37 to 52; and the NSDAP went down from 230 to 196.²⁰⁵ The sharp decrease of the

²⁰³ Schuman, op. cit., p. 167ff.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 169-74; Hagmann, op. cit., pp. 9-38. The popular vote in this election was as follows: Communists, 5,282,600 votes; the NSDAP, 13,745,800 votes; Social Democrats, 7,959,700 votes; the Center and Bavarian People's Party, 436,000. See Chart #7.

²⁰⁵ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 181-82; see Appendix, p. 187; Cf., General Eisenhart Rothe, Deutsche Gedenkhalle (Munich: Deutscher National--Verlag, 1934), p. 229ff. After the July 31, 1932, election, the NSDAP had the largest number of representatives in the Reichstag by a

CHART VII
REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, JULY 31, 1932

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	89	5,282,600	14.3	59,355.0
Social Democratic	133	7,959,700	21.6	59,847.3
Democratic	4	371,800	1.0	92,950.0
Center and Bavarian People's	97*	5,782,000	15.7	59,608.2
German People's	7	436,000	1.2	62,285.7
German Nationalist People's	37	2,177,400	5.9	58,848.6
NSDAP**	230	13,745,800	37.2	59,764.3
Other Parties	11	1,127,100	3.1	102,463.6
Summary:		Eligible voters	44,226,800	
		Votes cast	37,162,100	
		Percent of electorate	84.0	
		Valid votes	36,882,400	
		Percent of votes cast	99.2	

* 22 of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

CHART VIII
 REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
 GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, NOVEMBER 6, 1932

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	100	5,980,200	16.9	59,802.0
Social Democrat	121	7,248,000	20.4	59,900.9
Democratic	2	336,500	1.0	168,250.0
Center and Bavarian People's	90*	5,325,200	15.0	59,168.8
German People's	11	661,800	1.9	60,163.6
German Nationalist People's	52	2,959,000	8.3	56,903.6
NSDAP**	196	11,737,000	33.1	59,882.6
Other Parties	11	1,224,100	3.4	111,281.8
<hr/>				
Summary:	Eligible voters	44,373,700		
	Votes cast	35,759,100		
	Percent of electorate	80.6		
	Valid votes	35,471,800		
	Percent of votes cast	99.2		

* Twenty of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

NSDAP in the second election and the continued increase of the Communists led many observers to think that the NSDAP were reaping the consequence of their violent tactics and that their power had passed its peak. The incident at Potempa²⁰⁶ just a few days before the election, in which five drunken NSDAP troopers had kicked a Communist worker to death in the presence of his mother, was thought to have had a bad effect on the German voters. Also, Papen had stolen some votes from the NSDAP when he stole their platform. Hitler was crazed with surprise and dejection. The political prophets had said that his movement would

wide margin. Thus, Hitler demanded the chancellorship, but Hindenburg refused to give it to him. Instead, he gave Papen a free hand, more or less, to do as he pleased. Papen offered Hitler a position in the cabinet, but he refused anything less than the chancellorship. The result was a deadlock and disagreement on both sides. Therefore, Papen called for new elections, which took place in November. By this time Germany had passed the depth of the depression and there were slight signs of economic recovery. The popular vote in this election was as follows: Communists, 5,980,200 votes; Social Democrats, 7,248,000 votes; the Center and Bavarian People's parties together, 5,325,200 votes; Nationalists, 2,959,000 votes; and the NSDAP, 11,373,800 votes, or a loss of approximately two million votes as compared with their previous vote. See Chart #8.

²⁰⁶ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 198-99.

crumble at the verge of dissolution. The Strasser brothers, who had often threatened to resign, abandoned their Fuehrer and offered their help to Schleicher.²⁰⁷ Feder²⁰⁸ and Frick²⁰⁹ were alleged to have wavered in their loyalty. The greatest trouble was that the party was in desperate need of funds. The elections had brought them to the brink of bankruptcy. Disconsolate Storm Troopers could be seen on the streets with their collection boxes approaching indifferent passersby.

Schleicher succeeded Papen as chancellor on December 2, 1932. He gave Papen an advisory position as Minister without portfolio, and took the attitude that he could make

²⁰⁷ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 184ff; Kurt von Schleicher (1882-1934), German soldier and statesman, was appointed Minister of Defense, 1932, and chancellor of Germany, December 2, 1932-January 28, 1933, at which time he was succeeded by Hitler and the Nazi regime. He was murdered during the Nazi purge, June 30, 1934.

²⁰⁸ Gottfried Feder, one of Hitler's early followers, was a civil engineer with a flair for slogan-thinking. He provided the "scientific" ideas, denouncing the "slavery of interest," and demanding its abolition. He favored public ownership of land, the substitution of German for Roman law "Christian" capital, which was national and productive, and "Jewish" capital which was international and non-productive. The first was to be retained; the second done away with. Hitler embraced this gospel enthusiastically.

²⁰⁹ Wilhelm Frick, a German Nazi politician, was the Minister of Interior, 1933 and following: Illustrierter Beobachter, op. cit., p. 85.

or break Papen at will. Schleicher then proceeded to provoke a quarrel with his own supporters. He tried to discipline the Junkers by threatening to expose the balance sheet of the Osthilfe.²¹⁰ Thus, the Junkers turned upon him, and also Hindenburg. Schleicher then planned to arrest Papen and Hitler for treason, but the plot was discovered before it could be set in motion. Papen was now bargaining with Hitler,²¹¹ who because of his setback in the November election, was ready to accept any type of help. Papen cleverly resolved the fears, ambitions, and discontents of the Rightist groups and formed an anti-Schleicher opposition of NSDAP, Nationalists, Reichswehr, Stahlhelm, Junkers, and industrialists. Confronted by so numerous a coalition, Hindenburg, at long last, was persuaded to abandon his prejudice against Hitler, and on January 30, 1933, he appointed Adolf Hitler chancellor of Germany.²¹²

²¹⁰Scheele, op. cit., p. 160; The Osthilfe was a fund for agrarian relief originated by Bruening, and later disgracefully misused in the interests of the big East Prussian landowners.

²¹¹ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 223-24.

²¹² Ibid., pp. 229-31.

The appointment of Hitler as chancellor was nothing but a Machiavellian deal. Every participant got something and was led to think he would get even more. Papen was made vice-chancellor and thus could get revenge on Schleicher; Hugenberg was made Minister of Economics; Seldte, leader of the Stahlhelm,²¹³ was made Minister of Labor; General von Blomberg²¹⁴ was made Reichswehr Minister; Goering was made Minister without portfolio; Frick was made Minister of Interior; Neurath²¹⁵ remained Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the final analysis, three NSDAP men, Hitler, Goering, and Frick, were in a cabinet of twelve. This triumph put new spirit into Hitler's declining cause. The NSDAP rank and file gave themselves over to a great celebration. Goering proclaimed on the radio the rebirth of the Reich, the obliteration of fourteen years of shame, and the founding of a new German State of freedom and honor. On the night of January 30th, a crowd of 700,000 marched in review past the Fuehrer as

²¹³ Franz Seldte, a German politician, served in World War I, and was the founder, 1918, and first Reich leader of the Stahlhelm. He was the Reich Minister of labor from 1933 onward.

²¹⁴ Werner von Blomberg, a German Army officer, was the Minister of war in Hitler's cabinet, 1933-38.

²¹⁵ Konstantin von Neurath, a German diplomat, was

Hindenburg stood expressionless at another window of the chancellery, silent witness to the phenomenon to which he had given approval.

Hitler immediately put into action his Gleichschaltung,²¹⁶ which was in practice: the extermination of anti-Nazism throughout the land. Communism, his party's scapegoat and particular foe, was the first to experience the destructive wrath of the process. As of February 2, 1933, Communist meetings were forbidden, Communist papers dissolved, and Communist leaders arrested. Goering, on February 20th, ordered the police to shoot Communists on sight, and killings became frequent. At the same time, preparations were being made for a new election.

On February 27, 1933 the Reichstag building caught on fire, and the interior, for the most part, was completely destroyed. Goering at once accused the Communists of setting the fire. Hitler called it "a sign from Heaven."

ambassador in Constantinople, 1914, Minister to Denmark, 1919, ambassador to Italy, 1922, and to Britain, 1930. He was the German Minister of Foreign affairs, 1932-38, and served as the Reich "protector" for Bohemia and Moravia, 1929-41; also see, Halperin, op. cit., pp. 500, 517.

²¹⁶ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 51ff; Gleichschaltung means leveling, synchronization, or coordinating; there is no exact translation.

"We see now where the danger lies," he said. "Be assured I shall save the German people from it." ²¹⁷ Marinus van der Lubbe, allegedly a Communist and a Dutchman, was arrested in the burning Reichstag building. He acted as though he were mentally defective, and could only be made to utter an imbecilic "yes" to every question the police asked. Others arrested were: Torgler, and the Reichstag Communist exiles, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev. ²¹⁸

The NSDAP made great use of the Reichstag fire in their campaigning for the election and for their final annihilation of Communism in Germany, March 5, 1933. In a frenzy of hatred for and fear of "the Red peril," the German electorate once more went to the polls. The NSDAP turned on their propaganda machine to the utmost. However, with all their efforts they obtained only 288 seats and 17 million votes, or 44 per cent of the total vote. ²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Konrad Heiden, One Man Against Europe (New York: Penquin Books, 1939), pp. 215-16.

²¹⁸ Douglas Reed, Burning of the Reichstag (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1934), et passim.

²¹⁹ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 214ff; Lichtenberger, op. cit., pp. 61-2, 78. The popular vote in this election was as follows: the NSDAP, 17,277,200 votes; Communists, 4,848,100 votes; Social Democrats, 7,181,600 votes; Democrats, 334,200 votes; the Center and Bavarian People's parties together, 5,498,500 votes; German People's Party, 432,300

CHART IX

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, MARCH 5, 1933

Party	Seats gained	Popular vote	% of popular vote	No. votes needed per seat
Communist	81	4,848,100	12.3	59,853.1
Social Democratic	120	7,181,600	18.3	59,846.6
Democratic	5	334,200	0.8	66,850.0
Center and Bavarian People's	92*	5,498,500	14.0	59,766.3
German People's	2	432,300	1.1	216,150.0
German Nationalist People's	52	3,136,800	8.0	60,323.1
NSDAP**	288	17,277,200	43.9	59,990.2
Other Parties	8	635,600	1.6	79,325.0
<hr/>				
Summary:	Eligible voters	44,685,800		
	Votes cast	39,655,000		
	Percent of electorate	87.7		
	Valid votes	39,343,300		
	Percent of votes cast	99.2		

* Eighteen of these seats were held by the Bavarian People's Party.

** National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Persecution and inhibition had done their worst; nevertheless, there were still 81 Communists and 120 Social Democrats in the Reichstag. This was not encouraging for the NSDAP, but force made up for the lack of votes. The Reichstag held its sessions temporarily in the Kroll Opera in Berlin, and in the absence of all the Communist representatives, and most of the Social Democrats, who were now under arrest, it passed an Enabling Act,²²⁰ investing the government with all but dictatorial powers for six months. The cabinet was immediately filled with NSDAP men. Goebbels became Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, Darre Minister of Agriculture, and Hess Minister without portfolio. The NSDAP was established as the one and only political party in Germany; all the other parties were suppressed or voluntarily dissolved themselves.²²¹ The Reichstag was gradually made a mere audience for the pronouncements of Der Fuehrer.

votes; and the Nationalists, 3,136,800 votes. The NSDAP tactics paid dividends.

²²⁰ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 51-53, 84.

²²¹ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 280ff.

The civil services were operated upon by the Gleichschaltung, and all politically unreliable officials were dismissed. The separate state constitutions were dissolved and the states were placed under the jurisdiction of the NSDAP "Regents."²²² All the national symbols were given NSDAP imprint. The black-red-and-gold flag of the Weimar Republic was exchanged for the monarchist black-white-and -red with the NSDAP swastika in its center. The police and legal systems were changed. Secret State Police, the Geheime Staatspolizei or Gestapo,²²³ was organized under Goering, later to be reorganized by Himmler. The first concentration camps²²⁴ were opened, and in the first year of operation some 100,000 persons were interned in them "under protective arrest." Schools and universities were "coordinated." The youth of the nation was regimented in a number of hierarchical organizations called "Hitler Youth," nominally under the leadership of Schirach.²²⁵

²²² Neumann, op. cit., pp. 55-56; see Appendix, 202, 205-07.

²²³ Grzesinski, op. cit., pp. 257ff.

²²⁴ Ibid., pp. 267ff.

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 245.

A Reich Culture Chamber was established as a department of the Ministry of Propaganda to supervise and control the seven fields of literature, journalism, radio, film, theater, music, painting and sculpture. Trade, industry and labor were "co-ordinated." Dr. Schacht became president of the Reichsbank and Minister of Economics, and NSDAP supervisors sat on the boards of directors. The trade-unions were absorbed into the NSDAP Labor Front under Dr. Ley, and the workers' leisure was even "co-ordinated" into recreational organizations known as "Strength through Joy." ²²⁶ The unemployment situation (six million unemployed in 1932) was handled by requiring firms to increase their personnel; Jews and Communists were removed from their jobs; labor camps were built; road-building projects were initiated, and most important of all, a huge rearmament program was activated.

In early September the NSDAP held its "Congress of Victory," ²²⁷ the first great party day (Partei-Tag) after its seizure of power. Half a million S. A., S. S.,

²²⁶ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 429-30.

²²⁷ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., p. 344; see Appendix, pp. 225-27.

Hitler Jugend, camp followers, visitors, and tourists gathered at Nuernburg from all parts of Germany. Against a background of huge parades, Hitler made his usual assaults on Bolshevism and Jewry,²²⁸ but was rather moderate in his references to foreign policy.

In this chapter we have seen that the NSDAP did not get control of the government by being elected by a majority of the German voting public, but through plot and default. We have also seen the great effect upon the election results resulting from Hitler's propaganda program, as well as his program of coercion, and military force. The economic factors were also quite clearly revealed in the election results during the period 1919-1933. When the economy was good the middle classes were satisfied and the Reichstag representation of the radical and reactionary groups were at a minimum. However, when the economic conditions were difficult, the reactionary representation increased. As we proceed to chapter seven, we shall investigate the electoral system of the Third Reich and analyze the elections from 1933 through 1939.

²²⁸ Neumann, op. cit., pp. 111ff; Hoover, op. cit., pp. 118-51; Rothe, op. cit., et passim.

CHAPTER V

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND THE ELECTIONS UNDER THE THIRD REICH, 1933-1939

The Weimar Constitution was never formally abolished, but it was not used after 1933. It is appropriate at this point that we look at the whole text of the Enabling Act of March 24, 1933:

The Reichstag has enacted the following law which, with the consent of the Reichsrat and after determination that the requirements for laws changing the constitution have been complied with, is hereby promulgated:

Article 1. National laws can be enacted by the national Cabinet as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. This applies also to the laws referred to in article 85, paragraph 2, and in article 87 of the Constitution.

Article 2. The national laws enacted by the national Cabinet may deviate from the Constitution insofar as they do not affect the position of the Reichstag and the Reichsrat. The powers of the President remain undisturbed.

Article 3. The national laws enacted by the national Cabinet are prepared by the Chancellor and published in the Reichsgesetzblatt. They come into effect, unless otherwise specified, upon the day following their publication. Articles 68 to 77 of the Constitution do not apply to the laws enacted by the national Cabinet.

Article 4. Treaties of the Reich with foreign states which concern matters of nation-

al legislation do not require the consent of the bodies participating in legislation. The national Cabinet is empowered to issue the necessary provisions for the execution of these treaties.

Article 5. This law becomes effective on the day of its publication. It becomes invalid on April 1st, 1937; it further becomes invalid when the present national Cabinet is replaced by another.

Berlin, March 24th, 1933.

The National President
VON HINDENBURG

The National Chancellor
ADOLF HITLER

The National Minister of the Interior
FRICK

The National Minister of Foreign Affairs
FREIHERR VON NEURATH

The National Minister of Finances²²⁹
COUNT SCHWERIN VON KROSIGK

Thus the government of the Third Reich (Hitler) had all legislative, executive, and administrative authority. Its decrees were to be law and were to be enforced as law.

From 1933 onward, the Reichstag was merely an assembly of NSDAP appointees which seldom convened. When the

²²⁹ Herman Beukema and William M. Geer and Associates, contemporary Foreign Governments (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1946), p. 166.

Reichstag was called together, no discussion or debating was tolerated. The Reichstag served as a sounding board for Hitler's speeches and unanimously approved all measures he advanced.²³⁰ It was composed of all NSDAP members, who usually held other highly paid positions in the party and the government. Although it was not active, its members, nevertheless, were paid their monthly salaries.

Even though the Reichstag was seldom convened, it was dissolved by Hitler and re-elected four times between 1933 and 1939. One representative was allowed in the Reichstag for each 60,000 voters. The electorate were at times called upon to approve the national policies of the government through referendums. They also participated in the election of the Reichstag representatives, and the elections or referendums were conducted supposedly by universal, secret and direct ballot. In order to be enfranchised one had to be a German citizen, of German or related blood: non-Aryans were not allowed to vote. Failure to vote was considered and treated as opposition to the government; therefore, participation was extremely high, almost one-hundred per cent.

²³⁰ See Appendix, p. 224.

Appropriate times were chosen for the conducting of elections and referendums, such as the annexation of Austria, when the strong national feeling would even demand the support of those who were opposed to the NSDAP. Very careful wording of the questions submitted was also helpful in getting the desired results. The NSDAP monopolized the selection of candidates, because the ballot itself was so prepared that one could only vote for the NSDAP. When all of the above methods did not give the desired support, the NSDAP violated the secrecy of the polls, using coercion, and falsification of the returns.

After March 5, 1933, there were no real elections in Germany. In October 1933, in spite of Hitler's reassurances of a conservative foreign policy, Germany withdrew from the League of Nations²³¹ and from the Disarmament Conference. At once, however, Hitler appealed his decision to the country, and new Reichstag elections were held in November. The party system had gone, and the voters were required to write their Ja or Nein on a prepared ballot headed by the names of Hitler and the Nazi leaders.²³² In the usual NSDAP atmosphere of pageant

²³¹ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 374-75; Rötne, op. cit., et passim.

²³² See Appendix, p. 229.

hysteria and coercion, 95 per cent of the electorate voted; 92 per cent voted Ja.²³³ There were no state elections, and the Diets disappeared. Of the 661 members of the new Reichstag, 659 wore the Brown Shirt; Papen alone wore civilian clothes, and Hugenberg tactfully absented himself on the plea of illness.

During the spring of 1934 there was a considerable amount of plotting against the regime. Then on June 30th the purge started.²³⁴ During this savage week-end Hitler acted, according to his own words, as "the Supreme Tribunal of the German People:" he, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler and the S. S. "destroyed without mercy the undisciplined and disobedient, the unsocial and sickly elements" of the party. The official accounts afterward admitted to 77 deaths, but the more accurate figure was over 1000.²³⁵ Among the victims were Roehm, Gregor Strasser, Schleicher and his wife, and General von Bredow.²³⁶

²³³ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 413ff.

²³⁴ Heiden, A History of National Socialism, op. cit., pp. 413ff.

²³⁵ Baynes, op. cit., pp. 290-328, Hitler's speech to the Reichstag, July 13, 1934.

²³⁶ General von Bredow is supposed to have plotted with Schleicher for the arrest of Hitler and von Papen, and set up a military dictatorship on January 30th,

Papen was only saved at the last minute, it was said, by the personal intervention of President von Hindenburg.

"The Fuehrer accomplishes great deeds," said Goering later, "out of the greatness of his heart, the passion of his will, and the goodness of his soul. Faith in him is alone the basis of our life. Who dares touch that faith has ceased to be a German and must be destroyed." ²³⁷

Following Hindenburg's death on August 2, 1934, a second of Hitler's "Yes--No" referendum elections was held on August 19th, to express approval or disapproval of Hitler's decision to combine the powers of President and Chancellor into one office. ²³⁸ Eighty-eight per cent voted "yes" in the balloting, largely due to coercion, propaganda, and fear of concentration camps. The people by this time were becoming extremely inhibited and fearful. On March 29, 1936, a new Reichstag was "elected," ²³⁹ again with the electorate only being allowed to approve the NSDAP

but Hindenburg dismissed Schleicher and appointed Hitler as chancellor before Schleicher's plan was realized.

²³⁷ Reichspressestelle, "Hitler rast," (30th June 1934), pp. 62-4.

²³⁸ Schuman, op. cit., pp. 462ff.

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 490, 493.

candidates or waste a ballot. Complete unanimity was almost achieved in this election; 98.7 per cent voted for the NSDAP bloc. Here again fear, propaganda and irresistible pressure or coercion played their part. The results certainly were not true evaluations of the people's desires. Professor Rothfels has shown in his book, The German Opposition to Hitler,²⁴⁰ something of the actual feelings of the people, and how fearful they were of the concentration camps. Also, the writer of this paper was in Germany for almost two years during and after the war, and through a great many interviews with German people, Allied prisoners of war, and displaced persons, he was able to learn a great deal about the intense fear and intimidation which the German people endured during the Nazi regime. Displaced persons, and P. W.'s told how a kind German person would do some favor on the sly, and how fearful that person was that the fanatic S. S. guard or political leader would find out that he had been friendly with the prisoners.

On the 12th of March 1938, the German troops marched into Austria. This action of the Fuehrer, by a referendum

²⁴⁰ Hans Rothfels, The German Opposition to Hitler (Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery, 1948), et passim.

on the 10th of April, was approved by 99.2% of the German voters, and 99.73% of the Austrian voters.²⁴¹ This was the last opportunity given to the people to vote on any measure, so far as the writer knows, and this was by no means what one could call a free election. Actually, from March 5, 1933, the people had no real voice in what took place in their country. The evidence here presented seems to be sufficient to substantiate the premise that the great majority of the people had no part in their government from 1933 through 1939.

²⁴¹ Fraser, op. cit., pp. 103-4, 111, 114, 125, 161.

CHAPTER VI

SYNOPSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary. In early 1919, we find the Social Democratic Party divided into three factions, the largest of which was the Majority Socialists. Its platform called for a moderate program of progressively socializing industry. A second faction of the Social Democrats was the Independent Socialists, who wanted immediate socialization of industry by constitutional means; while the Spartacists (Communists) or third faction demanded a Communist dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Majority Socialists had the largest number of delegates at the Weimar Constitutional "Convention" in 1919, but no party had a definite majority. Only with the assistance of the Democratic Party (bourgeois republicans) and the Catholic Center Party were the Majority Socialists able to direct the making of the constitution. This bloc of parties formed a center and moderate group, with their opposition coming from the Independent Socialists on the Left and the Nationalist Party of conservatives and monarchists on the Right. The Majority Socialists led the Republic in a program of reconstruction and moderate reform.

Radical factions of both the Left and Right did not approve of the moderation of the governing coalition. The Communists made a number of plots against the government; however, the Nationalist demonstrations were more dangerous. These were led by former army officers who opposed the rule of Socialists and liberals whom the officers claimed had ruined Germany by signing the Versailles Treaty.

At the end of World War I, Germany had a depleted treasury, an inflated currency, and a chaotic economy. The demobilization of the army increased the inflation, decreased the purchasing power of the middle classes and led to a decline in foreign trade, thus making for a great deal of unemployment. The government had to make large reparations payments, as well as payments for the upkeep of the Allied armies of occupation. It could not meet these expenses through loans or taxation; therefore, the government began to print paper money supported only by its promise to pay. As a result the German mark reached, by 1923, a value of four trillion to one dollar. This extreme inflation robbed the people of their savings, their insurance, and their stocks and bonds. The middle class was practically bankrupt. Desperate measures of economy--the introduction of a new currency, and the ac-

quisition of foreign loans were steps which the government took in order to create a stable financial order. Some of these things were accomplished in the same manner that Hitler was to use later to accomplish his program.

The government extended its control over railroads, banks, mines, public utilities, and other enterprises in the public interest. Railways and air lines were regulated by the government. Labor unions were encouraged, and arbitration was used in wage disputes.

The German people deeply resented the terms of the Versailles Treaty, especially the clause which contended that Germany was "guilty" of forcing war upon the world and therefore they had to pay huge reparations. They were also very bitter about their colonies being taken away without compensation.

The above is the background with which the Germans launched out upon a Republican type of government. We must not forget, however, their added problem of constitutional weaknesses, and their inexperience at the polls. The "list system" of proportional representation helped the large parties to get representation with fewer votes than the small parties needed. However, in the election of January, 1919, we find the large parties requiring from 68,181 to 75,675 votes per seat in the Reichstag,

while the numerous small parties required only an average of 48,490 votes per seat. The larger parties held 98.4 per cent of the representation at this time. The governing (or center) bloc held 348 out of 421 seats.

In the election of June, 1920, the small parties were still gaining representation with fewer votes per seat than were the large parties. The small parties needed only 45,775 votes per Reichstag seat, while the large parties required from 59,811 to 62,923 votes per seat. An exception was the Communist party, which needed 147,500 votes for each of their four representatives.

Largely because of the economic trouble, and the playing up of Nationalism (especially their contempt for the Versailles treaty), the NSDAP gained representation for the first time in the election of May, 1924. They got 1,927,900 votes, which was exceptionally good for a new and relatively unknown party in many parts of Germany. By the time of this election things had changed somewhat, and we find the small parties needing 278,844 votes per seat for their nine seats, while the large parties needed only 59,107 to 62,439 votes per seat. It is interesting also to note that in this election the coalition bloc received only 209 out of 452 seats in the Reichstag. This was a decline from which they

never fully recovered. At the same time the Communists polled over 3,693,000 votes and won 62 Reichstag seats. The Nationalists polled over 5,696,000 votes and received 95 Reichstag seats. Economic conditions were largely responsible for the gain in radical sentiment on both the Left and Right extremes.

By the December election, however, the economic conditions had improved slightly, and the Communists took a drop of almost one million popular votes. Nevertheless, the Nationalists continued to climb, increasing their popular vote by almost one and one-half million votes. On the other hand, the NSDAP polled less than half of their previous vote. It is interesting to note that from 1924 onward the large parties needed fewer votes per Reichstag representative than did the small parties. (See charts I to IX.)

The election of May, 1928, reflected a slight change back to the center bloc. The Nationalists lost almost two million popular votes, and the Social Democrats gained more than a million votes. This election is interesting when one sees that 51 Reichstag seats were filled by the small splinter parties, or 13 per cent of the seats.

Germany was struck with a depression in 1929,

and this was reflected in the election of September, 1930. Both the Communists and the NSDAP made considerable gains at the polls. Again the economic factor played a large part in the election. The NSDAP Storm Troops and other uniformed groups of the NSDAP were very active just before the election. In this election the splinter parties won 13.9 per cent of the Reichstag seats, with a popular vote of over 4,845,000. The center bloc continued to decline. It is interesting to note that 82 per cent of the electorate went to the polls for this election, as compared with 75.6 per cent in the May, 1928, election, when conditions were somewhat better.

At the time of the July, 1932, election, the depression in Germany had reached its depth. There was a great army of unemployed, food was scarce, and wages were low. The NSDAP blamed the Jewish financiers for the depression, and promised a utopia. In this way they robbed both the Communists and the Nationalists of their political ammunition. That, and the added color of uniformed troops, bands, parades, psychology, and extensive campaigning gave the NSDAP a popular vote of almost fourteen million--thus giving them a larger number of Reichstag representatives than any of the other parties. The Communists also gained over a million votes in this

election, while the center bloc lost over a million votes, and the small splinter parties dropped from 62 seats down to eleven. 84 per cent of the electorate participated in this election.

By the time of the November, 1932, election economic conditions were somewhat better. The depth of the depression had been passed, and a slight recovery was in progress. Thus, the NSDAP lost over two million votes, in spite of their extensive campaigning and their show of force. The Nationalists made considerable gains as did the Communists. Only 80.6 per cent of the electorate went to the polls for this election.

The last of the "free" elections in Germany was held on March 5, 1933. In this election 87.7 per cent of the electorate participated. The NSDAP made a tremendous gain, largely because of their coercion and restraint, especially in regard to the Communists. Nevertheless, the Communists won 81 seats in the Reichstag in spite of all the NSDAP could do. At this point the NSDAP gained control of 43.9 per cent of the Reichstag seats. The center bloc retained just about the same representation as they had in the previous election. Shortly after this election the Reichstag (mostly NSDAP and Nationalists) passed the Enabling Act of March 24,

CHART X
THE NSDAP GAINS IN SOME OF THE
PROVINCES, 1924-1933

Election	BAVARIA--RINELAND		MUNICH	
	No. of popular votes	% of popular votes	No. of popular votes	% of popular votes
May 4, 1924	440,800	17.4	81,400	28.5
December 7, 1924	166,800	5.6	30,400	9.1
May 20, 1924	204,900	6.9	37,600	10.9
September 14, 1930	571,600	17.3	86,600	21.8
July 31, 1932	1,105,400	31.2	114,400	28.9
November 6, 1932	953,900	28.6	95,400	24.9
March 5, 1932	1,637,000	42.6	178,400	37.8
Election	PRUSSIA		SAXONY	
	No. of popular votes	% of popular votes	No. of popular votes	% of popular votes
May 4, 1924	893,800	4.9	169,900	6.6
December 7, 1924	458,400	2.5	67,700	2.5
May 20, 1924	355,100	1.9	79,900	2.9
September 14, 1930	3,967,900	18.4	561,400	18.3
July 31, 1932	8,394,900	37.0	1,307,000	41.3
November 6, 1932	7,174,300	32.8	1,135,100	36.6
March 5, 1933	10,522,400	43.7	1,517,800	45.0

CHART X (continued)

THE NSDAP GAINS IN SOME OF THE
PROVINCES, 1924-1933

Election	WUERTEMBERG		BADEN	
	No. of popular votes	% of popular votes	No. of popular votes	% of popular votes
May 4, 1924	50,500	4.2	45,100	4.8
December 7, 1924	25,100	2.2	22,600	2.3
May 20, 1924	23,500	2.1	29,900	3.3
September 14, 1930	128,700	9.4	226,700	19.2
July 31, 1932	418,500	30.5	468,200	36.9
November 6, 1932	339,200	26.5	404,500	34.1
March 5, 1933	647,900	42.0	627,100	45.4

1933. It is interesting to see (Chart X) that the NSDAP made a steady gain in popularity in all of the areas listed, from 1930 onward, with but one exception--that of November, 1932.

It is extremely hard to understand how an Austrian of very limited education, and of lower-class background who did not rise above the rank of corporal in the army, could have been successful in winning for himself the position formerly held by a Prussian Junker like Bismarck. The explanation lies largely in the post-war conditions in Germany.

When Hitler arrived in Munich in 1912 he was, in his own words, "a convinced anti-Semite, a mortal enemy of the Marxian philosophy and a Pan-German." He had become anti-Jewish from his contacts with the Jews in Vienna, where he completely failed to make a living, and where the anti-Jewish feeling had been stirred up by political agitation. He was anti-Marxian, actually anti-Labor, because he looked upon himself as a person of the middle-class who should not have to join a trade union. (After being refused entrance to the Art School, Hitler tried to get a job in the building trade in Vienna, but membership in a union was required of him.) Hitler was Pan-German, Nationalist, because Nationalism was

extremely strong on the German border where he was born. He had a great dislike for the Hapsburgs because they worked with all national groups in their dominion and retained control by playing Pole and Czech against German.

After the 1914-18 war in which he served with the German army, Hitler was without friends. His feelings of 1919 were like those of most of the German people who were dazed by their defeat, embittered by their severe treatment, and bewildered by the problems which faced them. Hitler was German to that extent. He also appealed to the Germany of that day as a patriot who was not of the governing classes which had destroyed Germany in the war, and because he recognized the claims of the "little man" to social justice, at the same time rejecting class war and Communism. Part of his power as orator and propagandist originated in the fact that he had something to offer everyone. To the rich he was the unrelenting enemy of Communism, the bulwark of Western civilization against Eastern barbarism. Thus, men like Thyssen²⁴² of the Ruhr heavy industries and Hugenberg,

²⁴² Fritz Thyssen was a German industrialist who inherited control of large iron and steel manufacturing plants (Thyssen Combine) upon the death of his father, and upon organization of the huge United Steel Works,

the "Hearst of Germany," became his supporters. He promised bread and work to the common man. The term National Socialist as the party name was designed to appeal both to patriotism and to the desire for social reform. Young students deprived of a career, army officers demobilized by the disarmament of Germany, the small investor ruined by inflation, the small storekeeper resentful of the competition to the chain stores, the peasant grumbling at high interest rates and low prices for farm produce, were all promised the things they wanted most; and all Germans were appealed to as Nationalists by the attacks on the peace treaties, the League of Nations, and the reparations agreements. It flattered everyone's ego to be told that the German race was a superior people, destined by their ability to rule inferior peoples who denied the Germans room to live (Lebensraum) to which they were justly entitled.

he became chairman of the board of directors in 1926. He joined the Nazis in 1923 and aided in Hitler's rise to power; after Hitler's accession to the chancellorship in 1933, Thyssen became economic dictator of the Ruhr industrial region. However, disagreements with Hitler's policies, beginning in 1936, caused his flight to Switzerland in September of 1939. The German government thereupon confiscated all of his property, in December, 1939; Fritz Thyssen, I Paid Hitler (New York: 1941), et passim.

Among the party's twenty-five points were the union of all Germans on the basis of self-determination, a phrase cleverly taken from Wilson's fourteen points,²⁴³ the abrogation of the peace treaties, the formation of a people's army, the expansion of Germany "for the feeding of our people and the settlement of our population surplus, and many other objectives."²⁴⁴ All of these planks, for the most part worded with very careful vagueness, had an appeal to the Germans, and we are thus enabled to understand Hitler's statement: "I am the drum major of the German people. I beat the march for which their feet are waiting."

Nevertheless, the twenty-five points in themselves do not explain the success of the NSDAP in creating a mass movement which started with less than twelve in Munich in 1919. One factor was Hitler's great skill as a popular orator. He had an extremely forceful personality. While in Germany, the writer talked with a number of persons who had been very close to Hitler during his various election campaigns and other public appearances.

²⁴³ Fraser, op. cit., pp. 177-79. Contains the text of the Fourteen Points, and the modification introduced by the Allises.

²⁴⁴ See Appendix, pp. 191-97.

Many of them told, with their faces beaming, how Hitler was a man with a will, and how the Germans looked upon him as being sent from Heaven to save their country. They would often say, "I only wish you could have seen him." He was able to get many recruits like Captain Roehm, an officer of Reichswehr; Goering, an ex-aviator; Hess and Gobbels, students; and Rosenberg and the Strasser brothers, theorists and reformers. Propaganda was another great aid which Hitler developed to its peak capacity. He wrote in Mein Kampf: "Through prudent persistent propaganda people can be made to think Heaven, Hell and the most abject existence a paradise." Hitler had great contempt for the ordinary people. It was his opinion that they were unfit to govern themselves and that they must be doped into submission to a ruling class by the constant repetition of the same simple idea. Large lies should be told because small ones were too easily detected. In propaganda, one should use not only oratory and the written material, but music, pageantry and mob hysteria. Marching men in uniform bearing many flags, heralded by brass bands and choirs.²⁴⁵

As chancellor, Hitler was installed as head of

²⁴⁵ See Appendix, pp. 202, 204, 208, 210, 225, 226.

a coalition government in which the majority, including Papen and Hegenberg, were non-partisan experts and Nationalists with only two NSDAP men in the cabinet, the Nationalists thought they had Hitler under control; but they were soon to be rudely awakened. What NSDAP did was to apply a policy of coordination (Gleichschaltung) which soon made them rulers over a one-party nation. President Hindenburg was induced to permit the new government to hold another election, the third in a period of nine months. Every effort was made to confuse the voting public in order to gain a huge majority for the NSDAP. The final effort, the burning of the Reichstag building on the eve of the election, was publicized as an act of the Communists, and they arrested Communists in large numbers. Hindenburg issued a decree abrogating the usual rights of freedom of speech and meeting, while the NSDAP private army of Storm Troops was used as a government force to keep order.

But even with all the coercion, propaganda, and pageantry, the NSDAP failed to get a majority representation in the Reichstag. While 20,500,000 Germans voted for the coalition, there were still almost 19,000,000 who preferred the rival parties. The NSDAP, with everything in its favor, got only 44 per cent of the total

vote. Since the coalition of NSDAP and Nationalists had a combined vote of 52 per cent, it was possible for them to pass through the Reichstag the Enabling Act of March, 1933, (already mentioned), which gave the government power for four years to pass decrees that had the force of law. This made the Reichstag nothing more than a sounding board convoked only when Hitler wanted to make a speech to the nation with a political background for decoration. In a period of seven years the Reichstag met only fifteen times. By July, 1933, all parties except the NSDAP had disappeared, either by voluntary dissolution or by forcible action. After the death of Hindenburg in August, 1934, Hitler combined the offices of president and chancellor in his own person, although he preferred to be called Der Fuehrer (leader) of the German people. The German states were reduced in number and lost all signs of local self-government. From the coordination of governmental bodies, the NSDAP extended its control throughout every area, including, with their "strength through joy" program, even the personal life of the German people.

Conclusion. The writer of this thesis feels that the evidence herein presented justifies his hypothesis that Hitler was never elected by a majority of

the German voting public, but that he gained power through plot and default; that he could not have gained control of the government except through his propaganda program, coercion by his private military forces, and the economic crisis brought about largely by the Treaty of Versailles; that the Weimar Constitution was weak and inadequate, and was of great help to Hitler in the establishment of a totalitarian state; that the German people and their leaders were not prepared for a democratic form of government, and thus permitted many meetings which advocated overthrowing the government by force; and lastly, that the majority of the people in Germany had absolutely no voice or participation in their government from 1933 to 1939, the latter date marking the end of the period under consideration in this thesis.

It seems quite clear from the evidence available that a large part of the responsibility for the rise to power of Hitler in Germany lies with the instigators of the Versailles Treaty.

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Klotz, Helmuth, editor, The Berlin Diaries, May 20, 1932-January 30, 1933. New York: Morrow, 1934. 356 pp.

An anonymous account of political intrigue in the capital, supposedly written by persons on the inside; not always authentic or reliable in details, but enlightening and accurate in its general thesis.

Lieb knecht, Karl, Speeches of Karl Lieb knecht, with a Biographical Sketch. New York: International Publishers, 1927. 93 pp.

Speeches of Karl Lieb knecht who was the Spartacist leader. This is very valuable for the study of the early political developments in the German Republic.

Locarno Conference, The, October 5-16, 1925. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1926. 75pp.

This gives the text of the Locarno agreements, and notes on the conference.

Lutz, R. H., Translator and editor, The Causes of the German Collapse in 1918. Stanford University Press, 1934. 309 pp.

Report of the Reichstag Committee on the debacle of 1918.

_____, Compiler, The Fall of the German Empire. Stanford University Press, 1933. 2 Vols.

A very useful compilation of documents and other materials bearing on the German situation in 1917-1918.

Neuburger, Otto, Official Publications of Present-Day Germany. Washington: U. S. Government Printing office, 1942. 130 pp.

Publications of the German government, corporate organizations and National Socialist Party, with an outline of the governmental structure of Germany.

Pollock, J. K., and H. J. Heneman, The Hitler Decrees. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Wahr, 1934. 86 pp.

An extremely helpful compilation of the major legislative enactments of the NSDAP regime during its first two years in power.

Rauschnig, H., Hitler Speaks. London: T. Butterworth, 1940. 287 pp.

A series of political conversations with Hitler. It is a very good study of Totalitarian Germany.

Reichsgesetzblatt, 1920-1939.

The official publication of the Reichs laws.

Atatistisches Reichsamt, Die deutsche Zahlungsbilanz der Jahre 1924-1933.

Excellent statistics for years 1924-1933.

Tell, Rolf, Nazi Guide to Nazism. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. 191 pp.

This book is extremely beneficial in the study of the NSDAP. It gives the whole organization, and the attitudes in the NSDAP doctrine.

U. S. Department of State, Division of European Affairs,
National Socialism. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govern-
ment printing office, 1943. 510 pp.

These documents are very helpful in that they give one
a basis for comparison with other materials.

Verhandlungen der Nationalversammlung, 1918-1920.

The Reichstag and National Assembly debates 1918-1920.

Verhandlungen des Reichstags, 1920-1932.

The debates of the Reichstag, 1920-1932.

Wirth, Joseph, Reden waehrend der Kanzlerschaft. Berlin:
Germania a-g., 1925. 455 pp.

The speeches of Wirth during his Chancellorship.

B. SECONDARY MATERIALS

Abel, Theodore Fred, Why Hitler Came to Power. New York:
Prentice-Hall, 1938. 322 pp.

This book is based on the original life stories of
six hundred of Hitler's followers, and it is ver valu-
able in the study of this period.

Allen, Henry T., My Rhineland Journal. New York: Houghton
Mifflin, 1923. 593 pp.

A very good account of the early years of the German
democracy, especially the problems in the occupied
Rhine territory.

Almond, Gabriel Abraham, The Struggle for Democracy in
Germany. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina
Press, 1949. 345 pp.

Part I of this book gives a good brief account of the
resistance and repression under the Nazi Totalitarian
State.

Andrew, Milton H., Twelve Leading Constitutions. Compton,

California: American University series, 1931. 391 pp.

This book is very helpful in that it gives the texts of the twelve constitutions as well as notes on them.

Angell, James W., The Recovery of Germany. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. 442 pp.

An account by an over-optimistic economist of Germany's "New era" before the great depression.

Anrich, Ernst, Deutsche Geschichte, 1918-1939. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1943. 157 pp.

This is an excellent general history of Germany from 1918-1939. It is somewhat objective, but not always accurate.

Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, Hitler's Reich, The First Phase. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 73 pp.

This book contains an especially good account of Nazi treatment of the Jews, and of the intrigue of the Nazis in Schleswig, and the Polish Corridor.

Baumont, Maurice, The Fall of the Kaiser. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. 256 pp.

A very useful French version of the collapse of 1918.

Bayles, William David, Caesars in Goose Step. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. 262 pp.

This book deals very well with the National Socialist Party in Germany, 1920-1940.

Bernstorff, Count Johann, Memoirs. New York: Random house, 1936. 383 pp.

These are the memoirs of a Democratic Reichstag member, 1921-28, and vice-chairman of the League of Nations.

Beukema, Herman, and William Geer, and Associates, Contemporary Foreign Governments. New York: Rinehart

and Company, 1946. 362 pp.

This book is excellent for the study of the European Governments. It contains a great deal of documentary materials.

Bibliographisches Institut, Schlag Nach! Wissenwerte Tatsachen aus Allen Gebieten. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1939. 270 pp.

This is a very helpful book, especially for the general statistics from 1919-1933.

Bischoff, Ralph Frederic, Nazi Conquest through German Culture. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942. 198 pp.

A superior study of German culture and Nationalism, both pre-Nazi and Nazi.

Blachly, F. F., and Oatman, M. E., The Government and Administration of Germany. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1928. 770 pp.

This is a very detailed description of the governmental machinery of the Weimar Republic. It is very valuable.

Bondy, Louis W., Racketeers of Hatred, Julius Streicher and the Jew-Baiter's International. London: N. Wolsey, 1946. 268 pp.

This book is very enlightening on the Jewish question in Germany.

Brady, Robert Alexander, The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism. New York: The Viking Press, 1937. 420 pp.

A good study in the aims, organization, and methods of the Nazi Party in Germany.

Brecht, Arnold, Feudalism and Regionalism in Germany. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. 202 pp.

This book deals nicely with the division of Prussia.

Brown Book of Hitler Terror, The, Anonymous; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933. 204 pp.

An exposure and indictment of NSDAP violence during the early months of the Third Reich.

Brunnet, Rene, The New German Constitution. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922. 339 pp.

A valuable French commentary on the origins and general principles of the Weimar Constitution.

Cahen, Fritz Max, Men Against Hitler. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1939. 258 pp.

A very fine study of the opposition to Hitler.

Chambers, Frank P., Christina P. Grant, and Bayley, Charles C., This Age of Conflict. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943. 856 pp.

A good general history with some very fine material on Germany during the period 1918-1939.

Clark, R. T., The Fall of the German Republic. London: Allen and Unwin, 1935. 494 pp.

A very fine political study of the period 1918-1934 with emphasis on Streseman's work.

D'Abernon, Viscount Edgar Vincent, The Diary of an Ambassador. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1929-31. 3 Vols.

Writings of an English ambassador to Berlin.

Daniels, H. G., The Rise of the German Republic. New York: Scribner's, 1928. 292 pp.

This is a political history of the background, and the birth and early development of the Republican regime in Germany.

Dawes, Charles G., A Journal of Reparations. London: Macmillan, 1939. 527 pp.

Writings of an American lawyer, financier and politician who helped to work out the Dawes Plan for

Germany. It is a very good book to help understand the Dawes Plan.

Dawes, Rufus Company, The Dawes Plan in the making. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925. 525 pp.

An excellent explanation of the Dawes Plan which he helped to work out for Germany.

Dawson, W. H., Germany Under the Treaty. New York: Longmans, Green, 1933. 421 pp.

This is a politico-economic account of the impact of Versailles on the German Republic.

De Wilde, John Charles, Building the Third Reich. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1939. 56 pp.

This is a very good brief general survey of the period 1918-33.

Dietrich, Otto, Mit Hitler in die Macht. Munich: F. Eher nachf. g. m. b. h., 1934. 209 pp.

The author records the personal life of Hitler, and his personal relations with Hitler.

Doberer, Kurt, The United States of Germany. London: L. Drummond, 1944. 166 pp.

This book deals nicely with the relations of the Central government, and the German provinces.

Dutch, Oswald, pseud., Hitler's 12 Apostles. New York: R. M. McBride, 1940. 249 pp.

This is an excellent study of Hitler and his chief Assistants.

Ebert, Friedrich, Kaempfe und Ziele. Dresden: C. Reissner, 1927. 387 pp.

The struggles of German democracy as recorded by the first president of the Weimar Republic.

_____, Schriften, Aufzeichnungen, Reden. Dresden: C. Reissner, 1926. 2 Vols.

The writings and speeches of Germany's first president.

Ebenstein, William, The Nazi State. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1943. 355 pp.

This book deals very well with the general history of the period 1933-43.

Einzig, Paul, Germany's Default. London: Macmillan, 1934. 128 pp.

This book is a very fine study in the German Reparation history following the first World War, and their final abrogation of the payments.

Eisner, Kurt, Gesammelte Schriften. Berlin: P. Cassirer, 1919. 2 Vols.

The collected writings of a German journalist, politician, and Socialist leader in Bavaria.

Erkelenz, Anton, Demokratie und Parteiorganisation. Berlin: P. Cassirer, n. d., 1932. 127 pp.

Writings on democracy and party organization in the German Republic.

Ermarth, Fritz, The New Germany. Washington, D. C. : Digest Press, American University, Graduate School, 1936. 203 pp.

This book deals with the National Socialist government in Theory and Practice. It is a good general treatment of the Third Reich, especially good on economic problems and policies.

Erzberger, Matthias, The League Of Nations, The Way to the Peace. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919. 328 pp.

Views on the League of Nations by Germany's Minister of Finance and vice-chancellor of 1919.

Fischer, Ruth, Stalin and German Communism. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1948. 687 pp.

A study in the origins of the state party, with a preface by Sidney B. Fay. It is an excellent study in the

origins of the Communist Party in Germany, and of the NSDAP by a contemporary and participant.

Florinsky, Michael T., Facism and National Socialism. New York: Macmillan, 1936. 292 pp.

This is a study of the economic and Social policies of the totalitarian state. It is an elementary comparison of the Italian and German totalitarian states.

Foch, Ferdinand, The memoirs of Marshal Foch. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1931. 517 pp.

The writings of the French Marshal of World War I.

Foreign Policy Association, Changing Governments Amid New Social Problems. New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1937. 46 pp.

A survey of the present governments in France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Denmark.

Forsthoff, Ernst, editor, Deutsche Geschichte seit 1918 in Dokumenten. Stuttgart: A. Kroener, 502 pp.

Contains some very valuable documents on the early period of the Weimar Republic.

Fraenkel, Ernst, The Dual State. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. 248 pp.

A contribution to the theory of dictatorship. This is a translation from the German.

Fraenkel, Heinrich, The German People Versus Hitler. London: Allen and Unwin, 1940. 370 pp.

This is a good study in opposition to Hitler and the NSDAP.

Fraser, Linley, Germany Between Two Wars. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. 184 pp.

This is an excellent brief general history of Germany from 1918-39.

Gehl, Walther, Deutsche Geschichte In Stichworten. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1939. 223 pp.

This is a good brief history by a Nazi historian. It is colored, and inaccurate at times, but is valuable if one checks it with other materials. It is especially helpful for one to get the NSDAP viewpoint.

_____, Geschichte. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1939. 285 pp.

A Nazi propaganda history written for the public schools.

Germanicus, pseud., Germany, the Last Four Years. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937. 116 pp.

An independent examination of the results of National Socialism.

Gobineau, Count Arthur, Essay on the Inequality of Human Races. New York: Collins, 1915. 217 pp.

This book helps to explain the origin of Germany's super-race idea.

Goebbels, Joseph, Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei. Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, F. Eher, 1934. 312 pp.

This is a history of the NSDAP from 1919 to 1933. It is extremely colored.

Goebbels, Joseph, My Part in Germany's Fight. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1935. 288 pp.

This book is quite Nazi and is not entirely reliable, but it does have some value in a study of the NSDAP.

Goering, Hermann, Germany Reborn. London: Mathews and Marrot, 1934. 111 pp.

This is an emotional defense of the NSDAP dictatorship which gives light on the author's attitude and mental processes.

Goldberg, Isaac, and Myerson, Abraham, The German Jew: His Share in Modern Culture. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1935. 432 pp.

This is a well documented answer to the HSDAP indictment and historical appraisal of the role of the German Jewish Community.

Goldsmith, Margaret L., and Voigt, Frederick, Hindenburg, The Man and the Legend. London: Faber, 1930. 304 pp.

This is a general biography, especially valuable on Hindenburg's war years.

Gooch, George P., Germany. London: E. Benn, 1929. 360 pp.

This is an excellent book on the background of the German Weimar government.

Grzesinski, Albert Carl, Inside Germany. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1939. 374 pp.

This book is invaluable. It is well written, and gives a great deal of detailed information.

Hallowell, John Hamilton, The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology With Particular Reference to German Politico-Legal Thought. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943. 145 pp.

This is an excellent concise history of Liberalism in Germany.

Halperin, S. William, Germany Tried Democracy. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1946. 567 pp.

This is one of the best general histories of the period 1918-1933.

Hartshorne, Edward Yarnall Jr., The German Universities and National Socialism. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1937. 184 pp.

This is a good brief work on the indoctrination of National Socialism in the Universities.

_____, German Youth and the Nazi Dream of Victory. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, 1941. 32pp.

This is a good short work on the Hitler Youth.

Heiden, Konrad, A History of National Socialism. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1935. 430 pp.

A Liberal's critical evaluation of the development and record of the NSDAP.

_____, Der Feuhrer, Hitler's Rise to Power. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1944. 788 pp.

A very good work on the life and works of Hitler. It is not always reliable as to fact, however.

_____, One Man Against Europe. New York: Penquin Books, 1939. 321 pp.

A very fine work on Hitler and National Socialism.

Helfferich, Karl T., Die Politik der Erfuellung. Munich: J. Schweitzer, 1922. 103 pp.

Writings on the fulfillment of the Reparations by a German economist, banker, and politician who opposed the fulfillment of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty.

Henri, Ernst, Hitler Over Europe. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1936. 294 pp.

A purported outline of NSDAP conquest throughout Europe.

Hermens, Ferdinand Aloys, Democracy or Anarchy? Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame Press, 1941. 491 pp.

A very good study of Proportional Representation.

Hill, Norman L., and Stoke, Harold W., The Background of European Governments. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935. 604 pp.

Readings and materials on the organization and operation of the Major governments of Europe.

Hitler and Kahr, Die Bayerischen Napoleonsgrossen von 1923. Edited by the Landesvorstand der SPD in Bayern, Munich: 1928. 2 vols.

These two volumes have a great deal of helpful and enlightening material in them. They are especially good in their treatment of the 1923 putsch in Munich.

Hoetzsch, Otto, Germany's Domestic and Foreign Policies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. 116 pp.

A Liberal's evaluation of Weimar politics during the period of prosperity.

Hoover, Calvin Bryce, Germany Enters the Third Reich. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 243 pp.

An American economist's narrative of the early months of the NSDAP Regime, before the liquidation of the "Second Revolution" in July, 1933.

Hugenberg, Alfred, Streiflichter aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Berlin: A. Scherl, 1927. 311 pp.

Writings on the strife in Germany by a German newspaper proprietor.

Hundhammer, Alois, Staatsburgerliche Vortrage fur die Jugend. Regensburg: Verlag der Katholischen Burschenvereine, 1930. 320 pp.

An excellent book on the German political parties from 1871 to 1930.

Jung, Carl Gustav, Essays on Contemporary Events. London: K. Paul, 1947. 90 pp.

This is a good brief account of the last effects of the NSDAP.

Keesler, H. K. U., Walther Rathenau, His Life and Work. London: G. Howe, 1929. 377 pp.

A sympathetic biography of the Weimar Republic's most able foreign minister before Stresemann.

Koch-Weser, Erich Friedrich Ludwig, Hitler and Beyond. Translated by Olga Marx, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945. 217 pp.

A German testament, this book has some good material,

and is quite helpful in giving a view of the German diplomacy.

_____, Germany in the Post-War World. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1930. 222 pp.

This book deals very nicely with the early years of the Weimar Republic.

Kosok, Paul, Modern Germany, A Study in Conflicting Loyalties. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933.

A very fine analysis of the warring faiths and symbolisms which motivated the various classes of German society in political action under the Weimar Republic.

Kraus, Herbert, The Crisis of German Democracy. Edited with an introduction by William S. Myers-- and with an English translation of the German Constitution by Marguerite Wolff, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932. 223 pp.

A study of the spirit of the Constitution of Weimar, as well as an account of the weaknesses of the parliamentary regime on the eve of its demise.

Kulski, Wladyslaw Wszebar, by W. M. Knight-Patterson, pseud., Germany From Defeat to Conquest, 1913-1933. London: Allen and Unwin, 1945. 622 pp.

This is an excellent work on the history of the Weimar Republic, but not always accurate in details.

Landmesser, Paul W., Kampf, 1914-1940. Pforzheim: P. Weber, 1940. 91 pp.

This is an objective and helpful short account of the events in Germany from the outbreak of World War I to the out break of World War II.

Lengyel, Emil, Hitler. New York: L. MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1932. 256 pp.

This is a very good, and for the most part quite accurate life of Hitler. It is however, somewhat sympathetic.

Lichtenbergerm Henri, The Third Reich. New York: The Greystone Press, 1937. 392 pp.

This is one of the best histories of the period 1933 to 1936. It gives the French viewpoint.

Listowel, Earl of, Introduction, The Brown Network. New York: Knight Publications, 1934. 309 pp.

An anonymous account from secret but apparently reliable sources, of the various NSDAP conspiracies in foreign states and of the "Brown International."

Lloyd George, David, War Memoirs. Boston: Little Brown, 1933-37. 6 Vols.

Excellent for the study of the 1918-19 negotiations.

_____, The Truth about the Peace Treaty. London: G. Gallancz, 1938. 2 Vols.

Good for studying the Versailles Treaty negotiations.

Lowenstein, Prince Hubertus, The Tragedy of a Nation. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 373 pp.

An account by an active leader of the Reichsbanner; Gives enlightenment on Social Democratic Attitudes and tactics in the Prussian crisis of July, 1932.

_____, The Germans in History. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 584 pp.

This is a very good history of the German people, but it is not always accurate.

Lowenstein, Karl, Hitler's Germany. New York: Macmillan, 1939. 176 pp.

The Nazi background to war; a good account of Hitler's first years as the German Fuehrer.

Lowenthal, Marvin, The Jews of Germany. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1936. 444 pp.

The best short history of the German Jews from Ancient times to 1936.

Ludendorff, Erich, Kriegfuehring und Politik. Berlin: E. S. Mittler and Sohn, 1922. 342 pp.

Good material on the collapse of the Germans at the end of the war and the early politics of the Weimar Republic.

Luehr, Elmer, The New German Republic. New York: Minton, Balch, 1929. 429 pp.

A very good general treatment of the establishment and first years of the Weimar regime.

Mann, Rudolf, Mit Ehrhardt durch Deutschland: Erinnerungen eines Mitkaempfers von der 2. Marinebrigade. Berlin: Junker und Duennhaupt, 1921. 204 pp.

This is an account of one of the men who served under Ehrhardt in the 2nd Marinebrigade.

Mann, Thomas, Nietzsche's Philosophy in the Light of Contemporary Events. Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1947. 37 pp.

Invaluable in the study of Germany during the period 1918-1939.

Marx, Fritz Morstein, Government in the Third Reich. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936. 199 pp.

The best short description of the political institutions and practices of the NSDAP state.

Mattern, Johannes, Bavaria and the Reich. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1923. 125 pp.

The conflict over the Law for the protection of the Republic.

_____, Principles of the Constitutional Juris-prudence of the German National Republic. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. 682 pp.

Maximilian, Prince of Baden, Memoirs. London: Constable, 1928. 2 Vols.

Gives light on the crisis of September, 1918, by one

of the principal participants. A very useful compilation of constitutional principles and precedents in the Weimar Republic.

Meyer's Lexikon, The Rise of the NSDAP.

A very useful work. This encyclopedia was quite Nazi during the period 1933-39, but was quite reliable before 1933.

Micklem, Nathaniel, National Socialism and Christianity. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939. 32 pp.

A fine short account of Hitler's conflict with the church.

Mises, Ludwig, Omnipotent Government, The Rise of the Total State and Total War. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. 291 pp.

A good account of Hitler's last years before the outbreak of World War II.

Mowrer, Edgar, Germany Puts the Clock Back. New York: Morrow, 1933. 325 pp.

A very good portrait of the Reich on the eve of the Nazi Revolution by an American journalist.

Mueller, Johannes, Sturz in den Abgrund, die Letzten Zehn Monate, 20 Juli bis 8 Mai 1945. Offenbach a Main: Bollwerk-Verlag, 1947. 215 pp.

This book contains some introductory material which is very good in the study of the Third Reich.

Mueller, Karl Alexander von, Vom Alten zum Neuen Deutschland, Aufsätze und Reden 1914-1938. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-anstalt, 1938. 336 pp.

This is an excellent work on the transformation of Germany from the Kaiser's regime to the Weimar Republic, and then to a totalitarian state. It contains many documents and speeches.

Neumann, Franz Leopold, Behemoth; the Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933-1944. New York: Oxford

University Press, 1944. 649 pp.

This is an excellent and well documented work on the history of the Third Reich.

The New International Year Book, edited by Frank Moore Colby, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, year 1919-1939.

These year books are excellent, especially for chronology and statistics.

Noske, Gustav, Von Kiel bis Kapp. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Revolution. Berlin: Verlag fuer Politik und Wirtschaft, 1920. 210 pp.

This is an excellent study in the German Revolution 1918-19.

Nova, Fritz, The National Socialist Fuehrerprinzip and its Background in German Thought. Philadelphia: 1943. 169 pp.

An excellent work on intellectual Germany.

Olden, Rudolf, Hitler. New York: Covici, Friede, 1936. 394 pp.

A critical biography, more temperate and accurate than Heiden's. It is excellent on Hitler's family background and early life.

Pinnow, Hermann, History of Germany. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 463 pp.

A good one volume history of Germany from the Middle Ages to Hitler.

Pollock, James K., and Harlow J. Haneman, The Hitler Decrees. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1934. 86 pp.

This little volume contains translations of a number of Hitler's Decrees. Some of them have to do with elections.

Preuss, Hugo, Reich und Laender. Berlin: C. Heymann, 1928. 278 pp.

An excellent commentary on the Weimar Constitution of which he was the author.

Quigley, Hugh, and Clark, R. T., Republican Germany. London: Methuen, 1928. 318 pp.

Apolitical history and description, with a comprehensive bibliography.

Radermacher, Josef, Ketzer-Gedanken in Dritten Reich. Hamburg: Verlag Friedrich Oetinger, 1947. 186 pp.

An excellent short work on the Third Reich by a contemporary and eye witness.

Rathenau, Walther, Politische Briefe. Dresden: C. Reissner, 1929. 348 pp.

The political letters of Rathenau, the best of Germany's foreign ministers before Stresemann.

Rauschning, Hermann, The Revolution of Nihilism; Warning to the West. New York: Alliance Book Corporation, Longmans, Green, 1939. 300 pp.

This is a very helpful book on the history of the Third Reich.

_____, The Conservative Revolution. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941. 280 pp.

A good book for the political aspects of this period.

Reed, Douglas, The Burning of the Reichstag. New York: Covici, Friede, 1934. 352 pp.

A British journalist's excellent analysis of the Reichstag fire and of the subsequent trial.

Reinhold, Peter P., Germany Since the War. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928. 134 pp.

An excellent work on the economic, financial and political state of Germany from 1918 to 1928.

Reynolds, B. T., Prelude to Hitler. London: J. Cape, 1933. 288 pp.

This is one of the best works on the history of the Weimar Republic. It is a personal record of ten post-war years in Germany.

Roberts, Stephen H., The House that Hitler Built. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1938. 380 pp.

An excellent book on the Rise to power of the NSDAP.

Roepke, Wilhelm, The Solution of the German Problem. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947. 282 pp.

Objective, and helpful in the study of the Third Reich.

Rosenberg, Alfred, Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts. Munich: Hoheneichen-verlag, 1930. 670 pp.

A very good study in the origins of the NSDAP philosophy.

Rosenberg, Arthur, The Birth of the German Republic 1871--1918. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. 286 pp.

A good political history of the Empire from the point of view of the political, institutional and ideological background of Weimar.

Rothfels, Hans, The German Opposition to Hitler. Hinsdale, Ill.: H. Regnery, 1948. 172 pp.

An appraisal of the opposition to Hitler inside Germany.

Rothe, General Eisenhart, Deutsche Gedenkhalle. Munich: Deutsche National-Verlag, 1934. 380 pp.

This is a very fine history of the NSDAP and their rise to power. It was written by a Nazi and is not always accurate or reliable, but it is quite helpful. It contains quite a lot of documentation, and photographs.

Salomon, Felix, Die deutschen Parteiprogramme. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1924. Vols. II--III.

A good study in the German Party System.

Schacht, Hjalmar, The Stabilization of the Mark. London: Allen and unwin, 1927. 247 pp.

A good study on the inflation in Germany after the World War.

_____, The End of Reparations. New York: J. Cape and H. Smith, 1931. 248 pp.

A good account of the German Reparations payments.

Scheele, Godfrey, The Weimar Republic. London: Faber and Faber, 1945. 360 pp.

One of the best histories of the Weimar Republic. It is well documented, and quite accurate.

Scheidemann, Philip, The Making of the New Germany. New York: Appleton, 1929. 2 Vols.

Memoirs and commentaries by the Social Democratic Chancellor.

Schuman, Frederick L., The Nazi Dictatorship: A Study in Social Pathology and the Politics of Fascism. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1936. 494 pp.

A psychological and economic interpretation of the Nazi movement and a description and analysis of the weapons of power in the Third Reich. This is an excellent work for the study of this period. It is well documented and quite accurate.

Seeckt, Hans von, Aus Meinem Leben, 1918--1936. Leipzig: Hose and Koehler, 1940. 751 pp.

The life of a retired German Army General.

_____, The Future of the German Empire. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1930. 187 pp.

Criticisms and postulates, with a foreward specially written for the English edition.

Sender, Mrs. Toni, Toni Sender. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1939. 319 pp.

The autobiography of a German rebel.

Spilcker, Karl, Germany--From Defeat to Defeat. London: MacDonald, 1945. 159 pp.

An excellent, concise account of the history of the Weimar Republic, and the Third Reich of Germany.

Steed, Henry Wickham, Hitler, Whence and Whither? London: Nisbet, 1934. 208 pp.

Suggestive interpretations of backgrounds and prospects.

Stone, Shepard, Shadow Over Europe. New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1938. 94 pp.

The challenge of Nazi Germany.

Stick, Samuel Dickinson, The Prussian Spirit. London: Faber and Faber, 1941. 235 pp.

A survey of German Literature and Politics, 1914-1940.

Strasser, Otto, Flight from Terror. New York: R. M. McBride, 1943. 361 pp.

This book gives the personal experience of Strasser who was at first one of Hitler's men, but later deserted him. The book is quite helpful, but not entirely reliable.

_____, Hitler and I. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940. 248 pp.

A very fine account of the relations of Strasser and Hitler.

Stresemann, Gustav, Eric Sutton, Translator and editor, Gustav Stresemann, His Diaries, Letters and Papers. London: Macmillan, 1935-40. 3 Vols.

This is a self-portrait of the German Republic's most able foreign minister.

Sweezy, Mrs. Maxine Bernard, Yaple, The Structure of the

Nazi Economy. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1941. 255 pp.

This is a good brief economic history of the Third Reich.

Taylor, Alonzo Englebert, Germany Then and Now. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. 32 pp.

A good brief account of Germany from the First World War on.

Thyssen, Fritz, I Paid Hitler. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941. 319 pp.

The account of the Iron industry magnate and his dealings with Hitler.

Valentin, Veit, The German People. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1946. 730 pp.

A history of the German people, and their civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich.

Valentin-Luchaire, A., Stresemann. London: Constable, 1931. 470 pp.

The best biography of the foreign minister.

Vermeil, Edmond, Germany's Three Reichs, Their History and Culture. London: A. Dakers, 1945. 420 pp.

A good general history with emphasis on the cultural aspects.

Viereck, Peter Robert Edwin, Metapolitics, From the Romantics to Hitler. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941. 335 pp.

This book is very helpful in understanding Hitler's political motives.

Volkman, E. O., Revolution ueber Deutschland. Oldenburg: O. G. Stalling, 1930. 393 pp.

A very good work on party strife and the various military activities during the first years of the Weimar

Republic.

Waln, Nora, Reaching for the Stars. Boston: Little, Brown, 1940. 38 pp.

A good brief work on Hitler's last days.

Walsh, Edmund Aloysius, Total Power; A Footnote to History. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1948. 373 pp.

This book is very good for an overall view of the period 1919-1939.

Watkins, Frederick Mundell, The Failure of Constitutional Emergency Powers Under the German Republic. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939. 148 pp.

An excellent study of the Presidential emergency powers in the Weimar Constitution.

Weber, Max, Gesammelte Politische Schriften. Munich: Drei Masken verlag, 1921. 488 pp.

The collected political writings of Max Weber.

Wertheimer, Mildred Salz, Germany Under Hitler. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1935. 48 pp.

An excellent account of Hitler's early days as chancellor.

Wheeler-Bennett, J. W., Wooden Titan: Hindenburg in Twenty Years of German History, 1914-1934. New York: Morrow, 1936. 491 pp.

This is more or less a biography of Hindenburg, and is quite helpful.

Williams, Wythe, Riddle of the Reich; in collaboration with Albert Parry. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941. 351 pp.

Very helpful in the study of the third Reich.

Winkler, Paul, The Thousand-year Conspiracy. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1943. 381 pp.

Secret Germany behind the mask; its contents are quite

revealing.

Wolff, Theodor, Through Two Decades. London: W, Heinemann, 1936. 324 pp.

An excellent work. It is very beneficial in a study of this period, 1919-1939.

Young, George, The New Germany. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. 331 pp.

A good study of the Weimar Assembly and the beginning of a German Democracy.

C. PERIODICAL ARTICLES

American Political Science Review, 1919-1939.

These periodicals contain a great deal of material on the Reichstag elections. The Weimar Constitution and other aspects of the Weimar Government which are quite useful.

Aris, Reinhold, "Proportional Representation in Germany," Politica, 2:433-45, 1937.

An excellent article on the Proportional Representation system of Germany.

"Aspects of German Political Institutions," Political Science Quarterly, 47:576-601, December 1932, and September 1932, pp. 321-51.

This is a very helpful article on the political system of Germany under the Weimar Republic.

Bartholdy, A. Mendelssohn, "The Political Dilemma in Germany," Foreign Affairs, 8:620-31, July, 1930.

This article is very helpful in getting a background of Germany's economic status at this time.

Bergmann, Carl, "Germany and the Young Plan," Foreign Affairs, 8:583-97, April 1930.

This article is very helpful in getting a background of Germany's economic status at this time.

Bernhard, Georg, "Stability of the German Republic," Current History, 33:814-19, March, 1931.

A very helpful article by a former editor-in-chief of the Vossische Zeitung.

Bernstein, Eduard, "The German Elections," Contemporary Review, 75:695-700, June, 1924.

A very helpful article on the 1924 elections.

_____, "Germany's Financial Crisis," Current History, 15:278-84, November, 1921.

This is an excellent article explaining the financial difficulties in Germany in 1921.

Berliner Tageblatt, 1918-1938

Before 1933 this paper was very good, and as a rule quite reliable. After 1933 the news was censored.

Brockdorff-Rantzau, Count, "Germany's Attitude on Peace Terms," Current History, 10:83-6, April, 1919.

This is a very useful article written by one of the German representatives to the peace conference.

Brown, Harrison, "The Collapse of Liberalism in Germany," Contemporary Review, 142:550-60, November, 1932.

This is a very helpful article in the study of political affairs of this period.

Dawson, William H., "Mending the German Constitution," Contemporary Review, 135:424-31, April, 1929.

This is a very good article on the provisions for the amending of the German Constitution.

Dernburg, Bernhard, "Germany's Restoration and the Dawes Plan," Current History, 25:785-91, March, 1927.

A good account by a Reichstag member and former Colonial

Secretary and Minister of Finance.

Deutschland: Jahrbuch fuer das deutsche Volk, 1919-1938.

These books are very helpful, and quite accurate up to 1933.

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 1919-1939.

This newspaper was one of the outstanding papers in Germany up to 1933.

Deutsches biographisches Jahrbuch, 1920-1939.

These are very helpful in a study of this period.

Deutsche Rundschau, 1919-1939.

These publications are excellent up to 1933, and can be helpful after that date if subjected to close analysis.

Fay, Sidney B., "Germany Elects a New Reichstag," Current History, 36:655-61, September, 1932.

This is a very fine article on the election of July 31, 1932.

Frankfurter Zeitung, 1918-1939.

One of the best papers in Germany.

Freund, Ernst, "The New German Constitution," Political Science Quarterly, 35:177-203, June 1920.

This is a very fine article on the various aspects of the Weimar Constitution. It is quite valuable in a study of the Weimar Republic.

Friedrich, Carl Joachim, "Dictatorship in Germany," Foreign Affairs, 9:118-32, October, 1930.

An excellent article on the Reichstag at this time.

_____, "The Issue of Judicial Review in Germany," Political Science Quarterly, 43:188-200, June, 1928.

This is an excellent and well documented article on the question of Judicial Review. It is quite useful.

Die Gesellschaft, 1920-1939.

These are very useful publications.

"Germany and the Bolshevist Peril," Current History, 10:227-35, May, 1919.

This is an excellent article on the revolutionary groups in Germany in 1919.

"Germany and the Peace Treaty," Current History, 10:381-98, June, 1919.

This is a very helpful article on the peace negotiations of 1919.

"Germany's Conservative Regime," Current History, 12:793-6, August, 1920.

A very good account and it has good statistics on the June 6, 1920, election.

Hermens, F. A., "Proportional Representation and the Break-down of German Democracy," Social Research, 4:379-423, 1936.

This is an excellent article on the German Proportional Representation system.

Die Hilfe, 1920-1938.

These are quite beneficial in the study of this period.

Illustrierter Beobachter, 1933-1938.

This is a Nazi publication, and is full of propaganda.

Illustrierte Zeitung, 1920-1939.

This is a paper which is somewhat biased, and gives a slanted viewpoint toward the NSDAP.

Jaeckt, Ernst, "Political Forces in the Reichstag," Foreign Affairs, 10:332, April, 1932.

A very fine diagram and short explanation of the various parties in the Reichstag.

Jahrbuch der deutschen Sozial-demokratic, 1920-1932.

The year book of the Social Democrats was quite good, and is invaluable in a study of this period.

Kuehlmann, Richard von, "The German Drift to Revolution," Current History, 37:393-98, January, 1933.

Very good article by a man who was the Foreign Secretary 1918-18.

London Times, The, 1919-1939.

The London Times is a very good paper, and it is quite dependable.

Lore, Ludwig, "Von Schleicher at Germany's Helm," Current History, 37:20-4, October, 1932.

This is a very useful article on the chancellor who preceeded Hitler.

Manchester Guardian Weekly, 1919-1939.

This is a British paper, but it is quite accurate most of the time, and it has a wealth of material on the subject of the German elections 1919-1939.

Neue Preussische Zeitung, 1918-1938.

This paper like all others was very good up to 1933.

Die Neue Rundschau, 1933-38.

These publications are full of propaganda in favor of the Nazis, but helpful, if used properly.

Die Neue Zeit, 1925-1935.

These are helpful up to 1933.

Nord und Sued, 1920-1938.

This publication is very good in a study of this period.

Politisches Jahrbuch, 1920-1932.

This publication is invaluable in a study of this period.

Pollock, James K., Jr., "The German Elections of 1928", American Political Science Review, 22:698-705, August, 1928.

This is a very enlightening article on the elections of 1928. It also deals very well with the system in general.

Reichspressestelle, 1920-1938.

A very useful publication.

Rote Fahne, 1920-1932.

This is the Communist organ.

Scheffer, Paul, "Hitler: Phenomenon and Portent," Foreign Affairs, 10:382-90, April, 1932.

This is a very good article for the study of the NSDAP doctrines.

Schwarz, Wolfgang, "Germany's New Government," Contemporary Review, 142:165-71, August 1932.

This is an excellent article, and it is quite accurate in its contents.

Shepard, Walter James, "The New Government in Germany," American Political Science Review, 13:361-78, August 1919.

This is an excellent article on the Weimar Government. It especially deals with the 1919 elections.

_____, "The German Elections," American Political Science Review, 18:528ff, August, 1924.

This is a very helpful article on the Weimar Election System, and especially deals with the 1924 Reichstag elections.

Stanley, Lee, "The Reichstag Elections in Germany,"
Contemporary Review, 142:292-300, September, 1932.

Excellent article on the 1932 elections.

Stimmen der Zeit, 1920-1938.

A very good publication.

Sueddeutsche Monatshefte, 1920-1933.

This is a good publication, and helpful in a study of this period.

Volkischer Beobachter, 1922-1939.

This is the NSDAP official organ.

Vorwaerts, 1920-1932.

This was the official organ of the Social Democratic party.

Weltbilderschau magazine, 1935-1938.

This is a very fine publication. It contains many documents, and many photographs, as well as a great many statistics.

Die Zukunft, 1920-1938.

A publication which was very good up to 1933.

D. REFERENCE WORKS

Encyclopedia Americana. New York: Americana Corporation, 1945.

Encyclopedia Britannica. Chicago: The Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1947.

Webster's Biographical Dictionary. Springfield, Mass.: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1943. 1697 pp.

APPENDIX

REICHSTAG REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY
GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES, 1919-1933 ⁽¹⁾

Election of	KPD ^a	SPD ^b	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	NSDAP* ^c
	Ind.	Maj.							
Jan. 19, 1919...	0	22 163	75	88	0	4	21	42	0
June 6, 1920...	4	84 102	39	64	21	4	65	71	0
May 4, 1924...	.62	100	28	65	16	10	45	95	32
Dec. 7, 1924...	.45	131	32	69	19	17	51	103	14
May 20, 1928...	.54	153	25	62	16	25	45	73	12
Sept. 14, 1930...	.77	143	20	68	19	23	30	41	107
July 31, 1932...	.89	133	4	75	22	2	7	37	230
Nov. 6, 1932...	100	121	2	70	20	0	11	52	196
March 5, 1933...	.81	120	5	74	18	0	2	52	288

a Communist Party of Germany

b Social Democratic Party of Germany, divided until September, 1922, into Independent Socialists and Majority Socialists.

c National Socialist German Workers' Party (Hitler Movement)

(1) Under the electoral system provided for in the Weimar Constitution each party received approximately one representative for every 60,000 popular votes cast for its candidates, though small parties with widely scattered followings were underrepresented in the Reichstag.

(3) Democratic Party

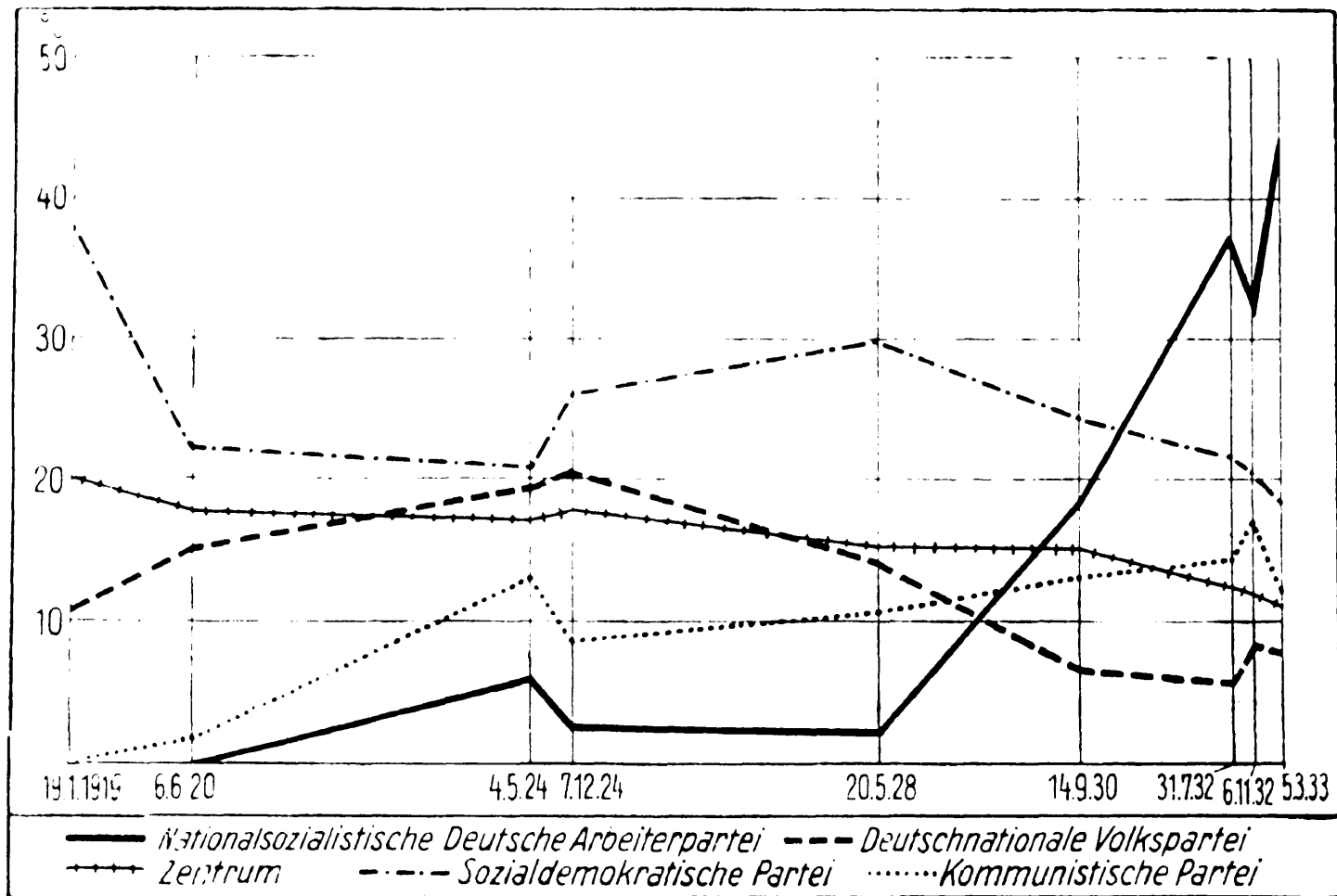
(4) Center Party

(5) Bavarian People's Party

(6) Economic Party

(7) German People's Party

(8) German National People's Party



Die deutschen Wahlen 1919—1933

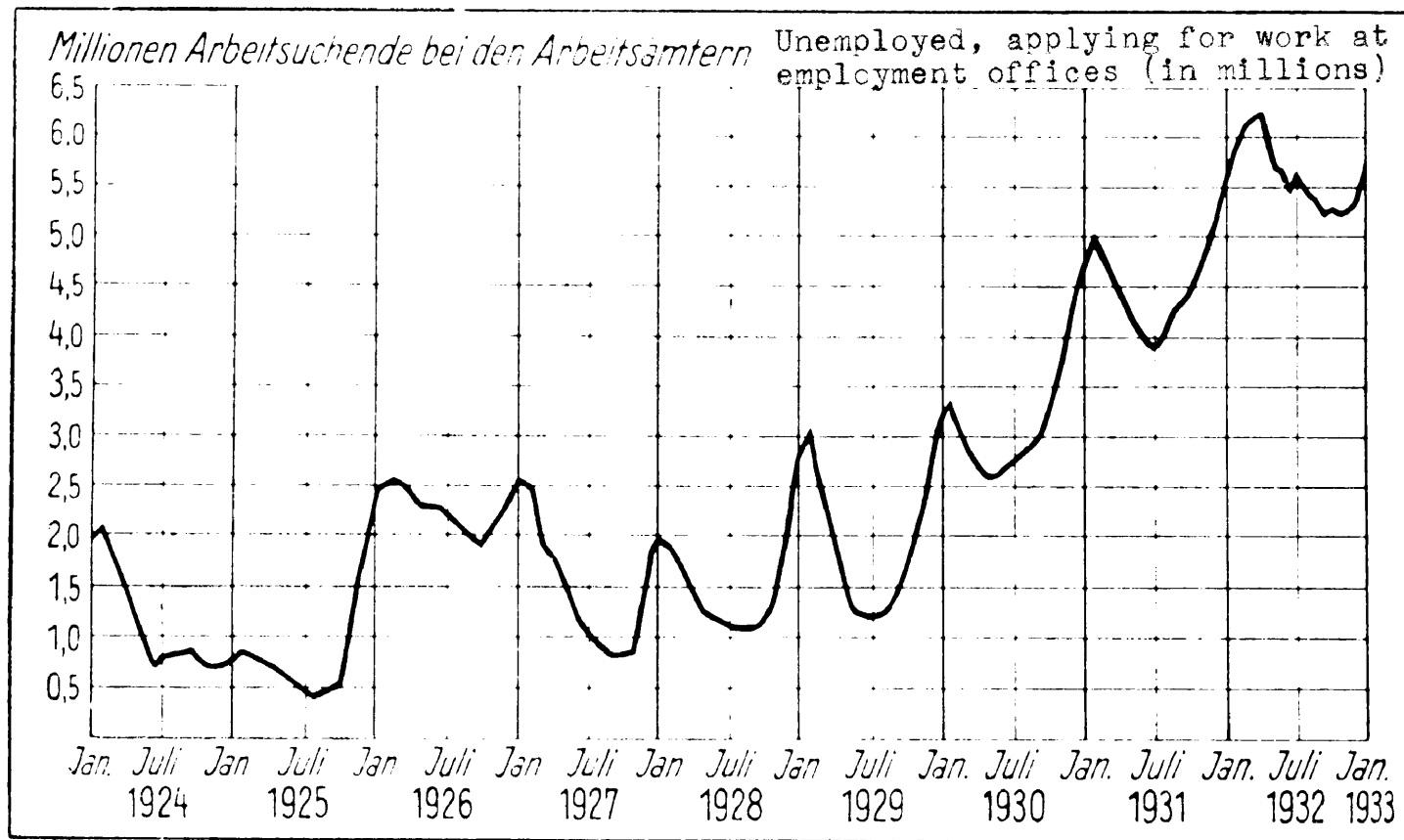
(THE GERMAN ELECTIONS 1919---1933)

_____ Nationalsocialist German Workers' Party ---German
People party

_____ Centrist Party ---. Socialdemocratic Party
Communist Party

(Dr. Walther Gehl, Die Nationalsozialistische
revolution (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933) p. 66

(translation for the material on the previous page)



Die deutsche Arbeitslosigkeit

(Unemployment in Germany)

(Dr. Walther Gehl, *Die Nationalsozialistische Revolution* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933), p. 43.

GERMAN CHANCELLORS, 1919-1933

Philipp Scheidemann, Social Democrat, February 13-June 2, 1919
 Gustav Bauer, Social Democrat, June 21, 1919-March 26, 1920
 Hermann Mueller, Social Democrat, March 28-June 8, 1920
 Konstantin Fehrenbach, Centrist, June 25, 1920-May 4, 1921
 Joseph Wirth, Centrist, May 10-October 22, 1921
 Joseph Wirth, Centrist, October 26, 1921-November 14, 1922
 Wilhelm Cuno, no party, November 22, 1922-August 12, 1923
 Gustav Stresemann, German People's Party, August 13-October 3, 1923
 Gustav Stresemann, German People's Party, October 6-November 23, 1923
 Wilhelm Marx, Centrist, November 30, 1923-May 26, 1924
 Wilhelm Marx, Centrist, June 3-December 15, 1924
 Hans Luther, no party, January 15-December 5, 1925
 Hans Luther, no party, January 20-May 12, 1926
 Wilhelm Marx, Centrist, May 17-December 17, 1926
 Wilhelm Marx, Centrist, January 29, 1927-June 12, 1928
 Herman Mueller, Social Democrat, June 28, 1928-March 27, 1930
 Heinrich Bruening, Centrist, March 31, 1930-October 9, 1931
 Heinrich Bruening, Centrist, October 9, 1931-May 30, 1932
 Franz von Papen, no party, May 31-December 1, 1932
 Kurt von Schleicher, no party, December 2, 1932-January 28, 1933
 Adolf Hitler, NSDAP., January 30, 1933-

SCALE OF THE MARK-DOLLAR RATE

October 1,	1918	4.00
January 2,	1921	74.40
July 1,	1921	75.00
January 2,	1922	186.75
July 1,	1922	401.49
January 2,	1923	7,260.00
July 1,	1923	160,000.00
August 1,	1923	1,100,000.00
September 4,	1923	13,000,000.00
October 1,	1923	242,000,000.00
November 1,	1923	130,000,000,000.00
November 30,	1923	4,200,000,000,000.00

Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei (D. A. P.)	
Ortsgruppe München	Abteilung:
Mitgliedskarte	
für <i>Adolf Hitler</i> <i>Leipziger Str. 12</i>	
München, den <i>1. Jan.</i> 1920	
Nr. <i>555</i>	Sür den Arbeitsausschuß:
<i>Hitler</i>	<i>Preller</i>
Eidswort	
Diese Karte gilt als Ausweis bei geschlossenen Versammlungen	

Adolf Hitler's membership card of the German Workers' Party
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.
Leipzig, 1939, p. 1).

Aussage aus dem Programm
der
national-sozialistischen
Deutschen Arbeiter-Partei.

Das Programm der Deutschen Arbeiter-Partei ist eine Zeit-Programme. Die Führer legen es ab, nach Erreichung der im Programm aufgestellten Ziele neue aufzustellen, nur zum Zweck, um durch künstlich gesteigerte Unzufriedenheit der Massen das Fortbestehen der Partei zu ermöglichen.

- 1.) Wir fordern den Zusammenschluss aller Deutschen auf Grund des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker zu einem Gross-Deutschland.
- 2.) Wir fordern die Gleichberechtigung des Deutschen Volkes gegenüber den anderen Nationen. Aufhebung der Friedensverträge von Versailles und St. Germaine.
- 3.) Wir fordern Land und Boden (Kolonien) zur Ernährung unseres Volkes und Ansiedelung unseres Bevölkerungs-Überschusses.
- 4.) Staatsbürger kann nur sein, wer Volksgenosse ist. Volksgenosse kann nur sein, wer Deutschen Blutes ist, ohne Rücksichtnahme auf Konfession. Kein Jude kann daher Volksgenosse sein.
- 5.) Wer nicht Staatsbürger ist, soll nur als Gast in Deutschland leben können und muss unter Fremden-Gesetzgebung stehen.

A program still typewritten
(Abstract of the Party-program enumerating its
five main points.)
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-
Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939, p. i)

(translation of the material on the previous page)

Parteiprogramm.

Das Programm der Deutschen Arbeiterpartei ist ein Zeitprogramm. Die Arbeiter leben es ab, nach Erreichung der im Programm aufgestellten Ziele neue aufzustellen, nur in dem Zweck, um durch ständlich gesteigerte Haupttätigkeit der Massen das Fortbestehen der Partei zu ermöglichen.

1. Wir fordern den Zusammenschluß aller Deutschen auf Grund des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker zu einem Großdeutschen Reich.

2. Wir fordern die Gleichberechtigung des deutschen Volkes gegenüber den anderen Nationen, Aufhebung der Friedensverträge von Versailles und Saint-Germain.

3. Wir fordern Land und Boden (Kolonia) zur Ernährung unseres Volkes und Ansiedlung unseres Bevölkerungsoberschusses.

4. Staatsbürger kann nur sein, wer Volksgenosse ist. Volksgenosse kann nur sein, wer deutschen Blutes ist, ohne Rücksicht auf Konfession. Kein Jude kann daher Volksgenosse sein.

5. Wer nicht Staatsbürger ist, soll nur als Gast in Deutschland leben können und muß unter Fremdenengesetzgebung stehen.

6. Das Recht, über Führung und Gesetz des Staates zu bestimmen, darf nur dem Staatsbürger zustehen. Dabei fordern wir, daß jedes öffentliche Amt, gleichgültig welcher Art, ob in Reich, Land oder Gemeinde, nur von Staatsbürgern besetzt werden darf. Wir bekämpfen die korumpierende Parlamentarismuswirtschaft, eine Stellenbesetzung nur nach Parteisichtspunkten ohne Rücksicht auf Charakter und Fähigkeiten.

7. Wir fordern, daß sich der Staat verpflichtet, in erster Linie für die Ernährung und Lebensmöglichkeit der Staatsbürger zu sorgen.

Wenn es nicht möglich ist, die Gesamtbevölkerung des Staates zu ernähren, so sind die Angehörigen fremder Nationen (Fremdbürger) aus dem Reich auszuweisen.

8. Jede weitere Einwanderung Nichtdeutscher ist zu verhindern. Wir fordern, daß alle Nichtdeutschen, die seit dem 2. August 1914 in Deutschland eingewandert sind, sofort zum Verlassen des Reiches gezwungen werden.

9. Alle Staatsbürger müssen gleiche Rechte und Pflichten besitzen.

10. Erste Pflicht jedes Staatsbürgers muß sein, geistig und körperlich zu schaffen. Die Tätigkeit des einzelnen darf nicht gegen die Interessen der Allgemeinheit verstoßen, sondern muß im Rahmen des Gesamten und zum Nutzen aller erfolgen.

Dabei fordern wir:

11. Abschaffung des Arbeits- und mühseligen Einkommens. Brechung der Antriebskraft.

12. Im Hinblick auf die ungeheuren Opfer an Gut und Blut, die jeder Krieg vom Volke fordert, muß die persönliche Bereicherung durch den Krieg als Verbrechen am Volke betrachtet werden. Wir fordern daher teillose Eingebung aller Kriegsgewinne.

13. Wir fordern die Verstaatlichung aller (bisher) verstaatlichten Zugs- und Verkehrsnetze.

14. Wir fordern Gemeinverteilung an Großbetrieben.

15. Wir fordern einen großzügigen Ausbau der Altersversorgung.

16. Wir fordern die Schaffung eines arbeitslosen Mittelstandes und seine Erhaltung, sofortige Kommunalisierung der Großwarenhäuser und ihre Hermetisierung in billigen Preisen an kleine Gewerbetreibende, sofortige Berücksichtigung aller kleinen Gewerbetreibenden bei Bestimmungen an den Staat, die Länder oder Gemeinden.

17. Wir fordern eine unseren nationalen Bedürfnissen entsprechende Bodennutzung, Schaffung eines Gesetzes zur unerschöpflichen Entzerrung von Boden für gemeinnützige Zwecke, Abschaffung des Bodennetzes und Verbotung jeder Bodenveräußerung.

18. Wir fordern den rücksichtslosen Kampf gegen diejenigen, die durch ihre Tätigkeit das Gemeinwohl untergraben. Gemeine Volkverleumder, Linderer, Götter, die mit dem Tode in Verbindung, ohne Rücksichtnahme auf Konfession und Rasse.

19. Wir fordern Gesetz für das der materialistischen Weltanschauung einseitige Recht durch ein deutsches Gemeinrecht.

20. Um jedem tüchtigen und fleißigen Deutschen das Erreichen höherer Bildung und damit das Einwirken in führende Stellungen zu ermöglichen, hat der Staat für einen gründlichen Ausbau unseres gesamten Volkserziehungswesens Sorge zu tragen. Die Lehrpläne aller Volkserziehungsanstalten sind den Anforderungen des praktischen Lebens anzupassen. Das Erhalten des Staatsgedankens muß bereits mit dem Beginn des Volkserziehens durch die Schullehrer gesichert werden. Wir fordern die Ausbildung geistig besonders veranlagter armer armer Eltern ohne Rücksicht auf den Stand oder Beruf auf Staatskosten.

21. Der Staat hat für die Hebung der Volksgesundheit zu sorgen durch den Schutz der Mütter und des Kindes, durch Verbot der Jugendarbeit, durch Herbeiführung der körperlichen Erziehung mittels geistlicher Zeitlehre einer Turn- und Sportpflicht, durch größte Unterstützung aller sich mit körperlicher Jugendausbildung beschäftigenden Vereine.

22. Wir fordern die Abschaffung der Soldatentruppe und die Bildung eines Volksheeres.

23. Wir fordern den gesetzlichen Kampf gegen die verwerfliche politische Lage und ihre Vertretung durch die Presse. Um die Schaffung einer deutschen Presse zu ermöglichen, fordern wir, daß:

a) sämtliche Schriftleiter und Mitarbeiter von Zeitungen, die in deutscher Sprache erscheinen, Volksgenossen sein müssen;

b) nichtdeutsche Zeitungen in ihrem Erscheinen der ausdrücklichen Genehmigung des Staates bedürfen. Sie dürfen nicht in deutscher Sprache gedruckt werden;

c) jede finanzielle Beteiligung an deutschen Zeitungen oder deren Beeinflussung durch Nichtdeutsche gesetzlich verboten wird und als Straftat für Vertretungen die Schließung einer solchen Zeitung sowie die sofortige Ausweisung der daran beteiligten Nichtdeutschen aus dem Reich. Zeitungen, die gegen das Gemeinwohl verstoßen, sind zu verbieten.

Wir fordern den gesetzlichen Kampf gegen eine Kunst- und Literaturrichtung, die einen verfallenden Einfluß auf unser Volksleben ausübt, und die Schließung von Veranstaltungen, die gegen verheerende Forderungen verstoßen.

24. Wir fordern die Freie aller religiösen Bekenntnisse im Staat, soweit sie nicht dessen Bestand gefährden oder gegen das Sittlichkeits- und Moralgehalt der germanischen Rasse verstoßen. Die Partei als solche vertritt den Grundriss eines positiven Christentums, ohne sich konfessionell an ein bestimmtes Bekenntnis zu binden. Sie bekämpft den jüdisch-materialistischen Geist in und außer uns und ist überzeugt, daß eine dauernde Genesung unseres Volkes nur erfolgen kann von innen heraus auf der Grundlage: Genesung geht vor Genesung.

25. Zur Durchführung alles dessen fordern wir die Schaffung einer starken Zentralgewalt des Reiches. Unbedingte Autorität des politischen Zentralparlamentes über das gesamte Reich und seine Organismen in allen Bereichen. Die Bildung von Landes- und Reichsräten zur Durchsicht der von Reich erlassenen Maßnahmen in den einzelnen Bundesstaaten.

Die Führer der Partei versprechen, wenn nötig unter Einsatz des eigenen Lebens, für die Durchsicht der verbleibenden Punkte eintretend einzutreten.

In diesem Programm hat Adolf Hitler am 13. 4. 1925 folgende Erklärung verfaßt:

Erklärung.

(Gegenüber den verlesenen Ansprüchen des Punktes 17 des Programms der NSDAP, von Seiten unserer Gegner ist folgende Erklärung notwendig.)

Da die NSDAP, aus dem Boden des Nationalismus stehend, nicht nur von selbst, daß der Nationalismus einseitig ist, sondern auch die Schaffung geistlicher Möglichkeiten hat, Boden, der auf unerschöpfliche Möglichkeiten wurde oder nach den Gesichtspunkten des Volkswohls veranlagt wird, wenn nötig, zu erkennen. Dies richtet sich demnach in erster Linie gegen die jüdischen Grundgesamtheitsgesellschaften.

The NSDAP 25 point program (translation on following pages)

(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939, p. 123.)

THE PROGRAM OF THE NSDAP
(Translation)

The program of the German Workers' Party is limited as to period. The leaders had no intention, once the aims announced in it had been achieved, of setting up fresh ones, merely in order to increase the discontent of the masses artificially and thus ensure the continued existence of the party.

1. We demand the union of all Germans to form a Great Germany on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations.

2. We demand equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for settling our surplus population.

4. None but members of the nation (Volksgenossen) may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.

5. Any one who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be subject to laws for aliens.

6. The right of voting for the leaders and laws of the State is to be enjoyed by the citizen of the State alone. We demand therefore that all official appointments, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, in the Lander, or in the smaller localities, shall be granted to citizens of the State alone.

We oppose the corrupting custom of Parliament of filling posts merely with a view of party considerations, and without reference to character or capability.

7. We demand that the State shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and livelihood of citizens of the State. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the State, foreign nationals (non-citizens) must be excluded from the Reich.

8. All further non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequent to August 2nd, 1914, shall be compelled forthwith to depart from the Reich.

9. All citizens of the State shall be equal as regards rights and duties.

10. It must be the first duty of each citizen of the State to work with his mind or with his body. The activities of the individual may not clash with the interests of the whole, but must proceed within the frame of the community and be for the general good.

We demand therefore:

11. Abolition of incomes unearned by work.

Breaking of the Bonds of Interest Slavery

12. In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war, personal enrichment due to a war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore ruthless confiscation of all war gains.

13. We demand nationalization of all businesses which have been up to the present formed into companies (trusts).

14. We demand that the profits from wholesale trade shall be shared out.

15. We demand extensive development of provision for old age.

16. We demand creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalization of department stores, and their lease at a cheap rate to small traders, and extreme consideration for all small purveyors to the State, district authorities, and smaller localities.

17. We demand land-reform suitable to our national requirements, passing of a law for confiscation without compensation of land for common purposes; abolition of interest on land loans, and prevention of all speculation in land.

18. We demand a ruthless struggle against those whose

activities are injurious to the common interest. Common criminals against the nation, usurers, profiteers, etc., must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race.

19. We demand that the Roman Law, which serves the materialistic world order, shall be replaced by a German legal system.

20. With the aim of opening to every capable and industrious German the possibility of higher education and of thus obtaining advancement, the State must consider a thorough reconstruction of our national system of education. The curriculum of all educational establishments must be brought into line with the requirements of practical life. Comprehension of the State idea (civic training) must be the school objective, beginning with the first dawn of understanding in the pupil. We demand development of the gifted children of poor parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the State.

21. The State must see to raising the standard of health in the nation by protecting mothers and infants, prohibiting child labor, increasing bodily efficiency by obligatory gymnastics and sports laid down by law, and by extensive support of clubs engaged in the bodily development of the young.

22. We demand abolition of a paid army, and formation of a national army.

23. We demand legal warfare against conscious political lying and its dissemination in the press. In order to facilitate creation of a German national press we demand:

(a) that all editors and their co-workers on newspapers employing the German language must be members of the nation (Volksgenossen);

(b) that special permission from the State shall be necessary before non-German newspapers may appear. These must not be printed in the German language;

(c) that non-Germans shall be prohibited by law from participation financially in or influencing German newspapers, and that the penalty for contravention of the law shall be suppression of any such newspaper and immediate deportation of the non-German concerned in it.

It must be forbidden to publish papers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand legal prosecution

of all tendencies in art and literature of a kind likely to disintegrate our life as a nation, and the suppression of institutions which militate against the requirements above-mentioned.

24. We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the State, so far as they are not a danger to, and do not militate against the moral feelings of, the German race.

The party, as such, stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession. It combats the Jewish-materialist spirit within us and without us and is convinced that our nation can only achieve permanent health from within on the principle:

The Common Interest Before Self

25. That all the foregoing may be realized, we demand the creation of a strong central power of the State. Unquestioned authority of the politically centralized Parliament over the entire Reich and its organization; and formation of Chambers for classes and occupations for the purpose of carrying out the general laws promulgated by the Reich in the various states of the confederation.

The leaders of the party swear to go straight forward--if necessary to sacrifice their lives--in securing fulfillment of the foregoing points.

Munich, February 24, 1920

(Translation of the 25 points to be found in the German on a preceding page)

National-Sozialistische
Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei

Ortsgruppe München

Großer öffentlicher Vortrag

Samstag, 17. April 1920, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Uhr abends
 im Hofbräuhaus-Festsaal (Platzl)

**Der Weltkrieg
 und seine Macher**

Redner:

Herr Adolf Hitler.

Wir genialer Geschäftsmann haben es die Drahtzieher des international-jüdischen Weltkapitals verstanden, Deutschland als den allein am Kriege Schuldigen hinzustellen, um unter diesem Vorwande die ungeheure Veranbarung u. fortgesetzte Erpressung am Deutschen Volke gerechtfertigt erscheinen zu lassen.

Deutsche Volksgenossen.

erscheint in Massen und protestiert damit zugleich gegen die neuen Vergewaltigungen Deutschlands durch den Entente-Kapitalismus.

Zur Deckung der Auslaufkosten werden 20 Pfg. Eintritt erhoben.

Einbehalter

Der Gesamtausschuß
 A. A. Anton Drexler.

(Bibliographisches Institut, Myers Konversations-Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939, p. i.)

(Translation)

NATIONALSOCIALIST

G E R M A N W O R K E R S ' - P A R T Y

Local Munich

IMPORTANT PUBLIC LECTURE

Saturday, April 17, 1920, 7:30 p. m.

in the Hofbrauerhaus-hall (Platzl)

T H E W O R L D W A R

A N D I T S M A K E R S

Speaker:

MR. ADOLF HITLER

With ingenious cleverness the wire-pullers of international-Jewish world capital managed to present Germany as the only one responsible for the War in order to justify under this pretext the monstrous exploitation and continuous extortion on the German people.

GERMANS!

Attend the meeting in masses and thereby show your protest against the recent acts of violation perpetrated against Germany by Entente-capitalism.

Admission 50 Pfg. to cover the rent of hall

Summoner:

Joint Committee

Anton Drexler

(translation of the material on the preceding page).

**Gerichtsschreiberei
des 2. Amtsgerichts München
Regierungsgericht.**

Wien, den 26. August 1942

Protokoll.

~~Ihre Achill Heiler, Ingenieurkammer im
Darmstadt, Geschäftsnummer 47/E~~

[illegible]

die Aenderung der Legung beschließen und
am 1. November
Oskar Herrert, Abtungsleiter.
bestanden in Schirfau. am 2.
Nov. nachgewiesen wurde.

Stuf Wirkung von der erfolgten Einnahme wird verglichen.

Surveillanceberichte: *Heimkehrer* Teil 54

Überprüfen, genehmigt und unterschreiben:

Greg Kinn

7.9.11

Int. H., meist Aufgezeichnet

241. 15. IX. 21

A. J. Shultz

Mark
2.2.2015

Geometrische Optik: Spiegel, Linsen, optische Systeme. 200

100

Register of Judicial Proceedings (Main archives
of the NSDAP, Munich)
(Bibliographisches Institut, Myers Konversations-
Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939, p. ii.)

Clerk's Office
of the Court at Law, Munich
Registrar

Munich, August 26, 1921

REGISTER OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Mr. Adolf Hitler, writer in Munich, Thierschstr. 41/I

Chairman _____ of society submits 2 copies
of the bylaws, supplemented by original and copy of the
record of July 29, 1921, and puts on record for registra-
tion in the official list of societies that in accordance
with the register of proceedings _____
_____ the modification of the bylaws was resolved
and that he has been re-elected as 1st chairman; Oskar
Koerner, tradesman in munich, as 2nd chairman.

Notification of registration made not
requested.

Mailing address: Sternankerbraeu Tal 54

Read, accepted and signed:

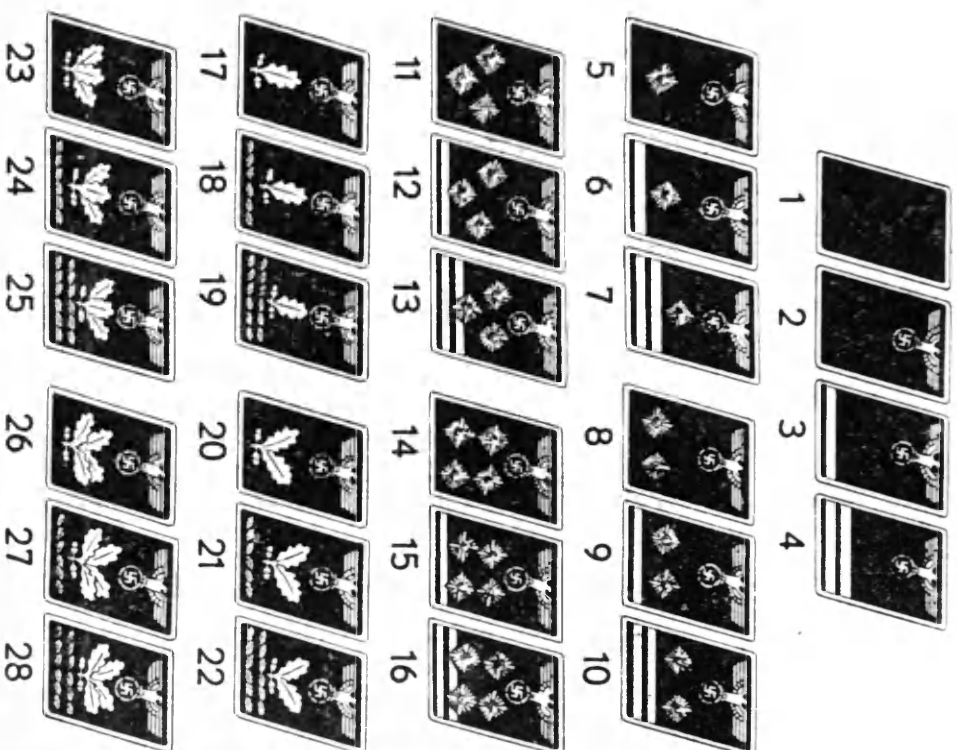
Adolf Hitler

August 27, 1921
Verified with original
September 15, 1921
(Signature)

Registrar:
(Signature)

(translation of the material on the preceding page).

Stellungangabezeichen der Politischen Leiter.



1 Politischer Leiter-Ähnlicher (Nicht-Äg.), 2 Politischer Leiter-Ähnlicher (Äg.), 3 Helfer, 4 Oberhelfer, 5 Arbeitschaftsleiter, 6 Oberarbeitsleiter, 7 Hauptarbeitsleiter, 8 Arbeitschaftsleiter, 9 Oberarbeitsleiter, 10 Hauptarbeitsleiter, 11 Einsamler, 12 Ober einsamler, 13 Haupt einsamler, 14 Gemeinchaftsleiter, 15 Ober gemeinchaftsleiter, 16 Haupt gemeinchaftsleiter, 17 Ab schnittsleiter, 18 Ober schnittsleiter, 19 Haupt schnittsleiter, 20 Bereichsleiter, 21 Oberbereichsleiter, 22 Hauptbereichsleiter, 23 Dienstleiter, 24 Oberdienstleiter, 25 Hauptdienstleiter, 26 Befehlsleiter, 27 Oberbefehlsleiter, 28 Hauptbefehlsleiter, 29 Gauleiter, 30 Reichsleiter.

Farbe der Spielerei: In der Ortsgruppe hellbraun, in der Kreisleitung dunkelbraun, in der Gauleitung hellrot, in der Reichsleitung karmesinrot. Farbe der Tragen, Hülsen- und Spiegelpaßpel: In der Ortsgruppe hellblau, in der Kreisleitung weiß, in der Gauleitung dunkelrot, in der Reichsleitung gelb.

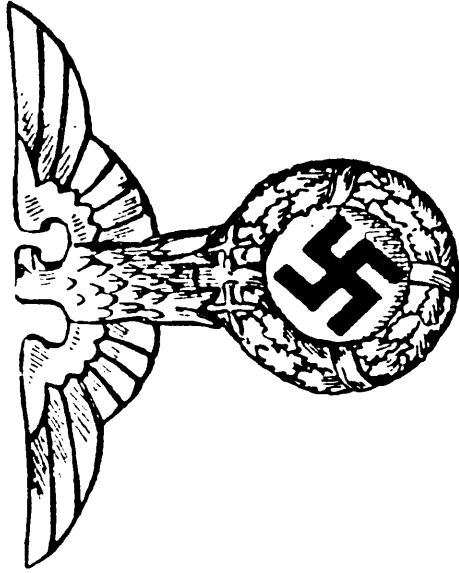
(Translation)

INSIGNIA OF POLITICAL LEADERS

1 Political leader-aspirant (non-party-member), 2 Political leader-aspirant (party member), 3 Assistant, 4 Assistant 1st class, 5 Field leader, 6 Field leader 1st class, 7 Chief field leader, 8 Preparedness leader, 9 Preparedness leader 1st class, 10 Chief preparedness leader, 11 Storm leader, 12 Storm leader 1st class, 13 Chief storm leader, 14 Group leader, 15 Group leader 1st class, 16 Chief group leader, 17 Section leader, 18 Section leader 1st class, 19 Chief section leader, 20 District leader, 21 District leader 1st class, 22 Chief district leader, 23 Station leader, 24 Station leader 1st class, 25 Chief station leader, 26 Commanding officer, 27 Commanding officer 1st class, 28 Chief commanding officer, 29 Gauleiter (territorial leader, 30 Reichsleiter (Reichsleader).

Color of facings: Local group light brown, district group dark brown, Gau group light red, Reichs-group dark red, Reichs-group golden yellow.

(translation of the material on the preceding page).



Goheitsabzeichen.



Parteiabzeichen.

Reichsdienststellen der NSDAP.

(Sitz in München, wenn nicht B = Berlin; RL = Reichsleiter, HZL = Hauptamt, HZL = Hauptamtsleiter).

Kanzlei des Führers der NSDAP.: Böhler, RL., B.
Der Stellvertreter des Führers: Rudolf Heß.
Stabsleiter des Stellvertreters des Führers: Martin Bormann, RL.; Kommission für Wirtschaftspolitik, B.; Parteiamtl. Prüfungskommission zum Schutz des NS.-Ehrfortums: Böhler, RL., B.; Rassenpolit. Amt der NSDAP.: Dr. med. Groß, HZL., B.; betreute Organisation: Reichsbund der Kinderreichen; Hauptarchiv der NSDAP.: Dr. Uetrecht, Amtsleiter.

Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP.: Dr. Ley, RL., zugleich Leiter der DAF.; Hauptorganisationsamt: Gekner, HZL., Niehnert, HZL.; Organisationsleitung der Reichsparteitage: Dr. Ley, RL.; Hauptpersonalamt: Marrenbach, HZL.; Hauptschulungsamt: Friedr. Schmidt, Stellverttr. Gauleiter; Hauptamt NSD. (Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation): Gekner, HZL.; HZL. für Handwerk und Handel: Dr. v. Renteln, HZL.; HZL. für Kommunalpolitik: Giebler, RL., betreute Organisation: Dt. Gemeindefag; HZL. für Beamte: Neef, HZL., angeschlossener Verband: Reichsbund der Dt. Beamten; HZL. für Erzieher: Wächter, Gauleiter, angeschlossener Verb.: NS.-Lehrerbund; HZL. für Kriegssopfer: Lindober, HZL., angeschl. Verband: NS.-Kriegssopferversorgung; HZL. für Volksgesundheit: Dr. Confi, HZL., angeschl. Verband: NSD.-Arztetbund; HZL. für Technik: Dr. Lohf, Hauptdienstleiter, angeschl. Verb.: NS.-Rund Dt. Technik; HZL. f. Volkswohlfahrt: Hilgenfeldt, HZL., angeschl. Verb.: NS.-Volkswohlfahrt; NS.-Frauenchaft:

Scholz-Klitz, Reichsfrauenführerin, betreute Organisation: Dt. Frauenwerk; NSD.-Dozentenbund: Prof. Dr. W. Schulze, HZL.; NSD.-Studentenb.: Dr. Scheel, HZL. Der Reichsschachmeister der NSDAP.: Fr. E. Schwarz, RL.; Hauptamt I (Finanzverwaltung): Wachlin, HZL.; HZL. II (Reichshaushaltsamt): Damsen, HZL.; HZL. III (Reichsrechnungsamt): Müller, HZL.; HZL. IV (Reichsführungsausschuss): Dr. Ruoff, HZL.; HZL. V (Reichsrevisionssamt): Hänggen, HZL.; HZL. VII (Hilfskasse der NSDAP.): Geißelbrecht, HZL.; HZL. VIII (Reichszeugmeisterei der NSDAP.): Rich. Büchner, HZL. Der Reichspropagandaleiter der NSDAP.: Dr. Goebbels, RL.

Das Oberste Parteigericht: Oberster Richter der Partei: Der Reichspressesekretär der NSDAP.: D. Dietrich, RL. Der Reichsleiter für die Presse: Umann, RL. Reichsamt für Agrarpolitik: Darré, RL., bedingt betreute Organisation: Reichsnährstand.

Reichsamt f. Forstwirtschaft: Parchmann, Amtsleiter. Reichsrechtsamt: Dr. Hans Frank, RL., angeschl. Verb.: NS.-Rechtswahrerbund (NSRB.).

Außenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP.: Rosenburg, RL. Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen u. weltanschaul. Erziehung der NSDAP.: Rosenberg, RL.

Kolonialpolit. Amt der NSDAP.: Mitter v. Epp, RL. Die Reichstagsfraktion der NSDAP.: Dr. Frick, RL.

(Translation)

REICHS-OFFICES OF THE NSDAP. (NATIONALSOCIALIST GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY)

(Located in Munich, if not B=Berlin; RL.=Reichs-head-officer, HA.=Head-office, HAL.=Chief of Head-office).

Chancellery of the Fuehrer of NSDAP.:

Bouhler, RL., B.

Fuehrer-deputy: Rudolf Hess. Chief of staff of the Fuehrer-deputy: Martin Bormann, RL.; Committee of Economic Policy, B.; Party-official Censorship Committee for the Protection of NS. (Nationalsocialist)-Literature: Bouhler, RL., B; Office of Racial Policy of NSDAP.: Dr. med. Gross, HAL., B, affiliated and cared-for organization: Reichs-union of Families with Many Children; Main Archives of NSDAP.: Dr. Uetrecht, head-officer.

Reichs-head-officer for Organization of NSDAP.: Dr. Ley, RL., also head of DAF. (German Labor Front); Head-office of Organization: Selzner, HAL., Mehnert, HAL.; Management of Organization of Party Conventions: Dr. Ley, RL.; Head-office of Personnel: Marrenbach, HAL.; Head-office for Doctrinaire Training: Friedr. Schmidt, Gauleiter

deputy; Head-office NSBO. (National-socialist Factory-cell Organization): Selzner, HAL.; HA. for Trades and Commerce: Dr. v. Renterln, HAL.; HA. for Community Policy: Fiehler, RL., affiliated and cared-for organization: German Cities-and Townships-Association; HA. for Employees: Neef, HAL., affiliated organization: Reichs-association of German Employees; HA. for Educators: Waechtler, gauleiter, affiliated organization: NS.-Teachers-Association; HA. for War Victims: Oberlindober, HAL., affiliated organization: NS.-Care of War Victims; HA. for Public Health: Dr. Conti, HAL., affiliated organization: NSD.(Nationalsocialist German)-Medical Association; HA. for Technics: Dr. Todt, head-officer, affiliated organization: NS.-Association of German Technics; HA. for Public Welfare: Hilgenfeldt, HAL., affiliated organization: NS.-Public Welfare; NS.-Women's Association: Scholtz-Klink, Reichs-head-

(Continued)

(Continued)

officer, affiliated organization:
German Women's Activities; NSD.-
Association of University Lectur-
ers: Prof. Dr. W. Schultze. HAL.;
NSD.-Students Association: Dr. Scheel,
HAL.

Reichs-treasurer of NSDAP.: Fr. X.
Schwarz, RL.; Head-office I (Admin-
istration of Finance): Wachlin,
HAL.; HA. II (Reichs-Budget Office)
Damson, HAL.; HA. III (Reichs-
Office of Accounting): Miller, HAL.;
HA. IV (Office of Administration):
Dr. Ruoff, HAL.; HA. V (Reichs-
office of the Reichs-treasurer):
Lingg, HAL.; HA. VI (Reichs-office
of the Comptroller): Haenszgen, HAL.;
HA. VII (Assistance Funds of NSDAP.)
Geisselbrecht, HAL.: HA. VIII
(Reichs-office for Weapons, Tools
and Equipment of NSDAP.): Rich.
Buchner, HAL.

Head of Public Propaganda of NSDAP.:
Dr. Goebbels, RL.

Supreme Party Court: Chief Justice of
the Party: Buch, RL.

Reichs-chief of Party Press: Dietrich, RL.
Reichs-chief for the Press: Amann, RL.
Reichs-office of Agricultural Policy:
Darre, RL., conditionally affiliated
organization: Farmers' Organization.
Reichs-office of Forestry: Parchmann,
head-officer.

Reichs-office of Justice: Cr. Hans Frank,
RL., affiliated organization: NS.-Jud-
icial Association (NSRB).

Office of Foreign Policy of NSDAP.:
Rosenberg, RL.

Deputy of the Fuehrer in Charge of All
Spiritual and Ideological Education
of NSDAP.: Rosenberg, RL.

Office of Colonial Policy of NSDAP.:
Ritter v. Epp, RL.

Association of NSDAP. Members of the
German Diet: Dr. Frick, RL.



Meeting at the circus "Kone" in Munich 1921.

(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939,
p. ii.)



SA. 1922
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939,
p. ii.)



Parade on the "German Day" in Nuremberg, November 1923.
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.
Leipzig, 1939, p. iii.)

Proklamation

an das deutsche Volk!

Die Regierung der November-
verbrecher in Berlin ist heute
für abgesetzt erklärt worden.

**Eine provisorische deutsche
National-Regierung
ist gebildet worden.**

Diese besteht aus

**General Ludendorff, Adolf Hitler
General von Loffow, Oberst von Seißer**

Poster; Proclamation of the National-Government
November 8-9, 1923
(main archives of NSDAP, Munich)
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-
Lexikon. Leipzig, 1939, p. iii.)

P R O C L A M A T I O N

TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE!

The government of the November-criminals
in Berlin has been declared dismissed today.

A PROVISIONAL GERMAN NATIONAL-GOVERNMENT
HAS BEEN FORMED.

It is composed of

General Ludendorff, Adolf Hitler
General von Lossow, Oberst von Seisser

(translation of the material on the preceding page)

THE STRESEMANN ENABLING ACT

OCTOBER 1923

The federal government is authorized to take those measures which it considers to be absolutely necessary in the financial, economic and social realms. Fundamental rights guaranteed in the Weimar Constitution may be disregarded in the process.

This authorization does not extend to regulations affecting hours of labor, nor to the reduction of pensions, social insurance or unemployment insurance.

Decrees issued on this basis shall be reported without delay to the Reichstag and to the Reichsrat. On demand of the Reichstag they are to be revoked immediately.

This law goes into effect on the day of promulgation. It shall cease to operate at the very latest on March 31, 1924, and shall lapse even before that time with any change in the party composition of the present government.¹

¹ Reichsgesetzblatt, pt. I (1923), p. 943.

Den jüdischen Kindern der
 9 November 1923
 meine herzlichsten Grüße
 wolle die jüdischen Eltern
 die ihnen durch jüdische
 meine die jüdischen jüdischen
 Tag der jüdischen

Adolf Hitler
 Landsberg (Festungsbau)
 20/ April 1924

Proclamation of Adolf Hitler from the Fortress of Landsberg,
 for contributions in behalf of the bereft families of the
 killed on November 9, 1923 (main archives of the NSDAP, Munich)

(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.
 Leipzig, 1939, p. iv.)

(Translation)

Greetings to the bereft families of November 9, 1923, with the expression of hope that the heavy wound inflicted upon us on this tragic day may heal.

Adolf Hitler

Landsberg (imprisoned at Fortress)

April 20, 1924.

(Translation of the material on the preceding page)

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

Nationalsozialisten! Alte Parteigenossen u. Genossinnen!

Freitag den 22. Februar 1925, abends
8 Uhr findet im Münchener **Bürgerbräu-Keller**
Kolnheimerstraße

zur Wiederbegründung
der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei die erste
Große öffentl. Massenversammlung

: : Statt / Es wird sprechen: Da. : :

Adolf Hitler

über:

Deutschlands Zukunft und unsere Bewegung

Eintritt zur Bedienung von Caviar und Plafontasteten 1 Mk

Der Ueberdruck soll die Bildung des Kommissars der Bewegung einleiten

Juden haben keinen Zutritt

Einberufen: Amann

Karten im Ueberdruck ab Donnerstag den 20. Februar 1925. Eintritt 15 v. (Buchhandlung) erhältlich

Das Kampfblatt der Nationalsozialistischen Bewegung Großdeutschlands
„**Völkische Beobachter**“, Herausgeber **Adolf Hitler**

Die erste Ausgabe erscheint als Sondernummer am Donnerstag den 20. Februar 1925, mittags, und ist bei allen Zeitungsverkäufern erhältlich

(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.
Leipzig, 1939, p. iv.)

NATIONALSOCIALIST GERMAN LABOR PARTY

NATIONALSOCIALISTS! Old Party Members, Men and Women!

ON FRIDAY Feb. 27, 1925
8 o'clock evening takes place in the Munich
BUERGERBRAEU-KELLER
Rosenheimerstrasse

For the Re-establishment
of the Nationalsocialist German Workers' Party
the First

GREAT PUBLIC MASSMEETING

Speaker, Party Member

ADOLF HITLER

on

GERMANY'S FUTURE AND OUR MOVEMENT

Admission - 1 Mark (for covering rent and publicity)

JEWS NOT ADMITTED

Surplus of proceeds goes to the setting-up of a fighting fund for the movement

The summoner: Amann

Tickets may be bought from Thursday, Feb. 26, 1925 on, at Thierschstr. 15 (Bookstore)

The fighting organ of the Nationalsocialist movement of Greater Germany is the "RACIAL OBSERVER," Publisher ADOLF HITLER

The first issue appears as special number, Thursday, Feb. 26, 1925, noon, and is obtainable at all news vendors.

(translation of the material on the preceding page)

Jahrgang 1926 / Folge 1 Preis 25 Pfennig

DEA

ILLUSTRIERTE BEOBACHTER

Verlag Dr. Ober Hofst. H. m. G. München 2, NO 2

München, Juli 1926

DER TAG VON WEIMAR • 3./4. JULI 1926

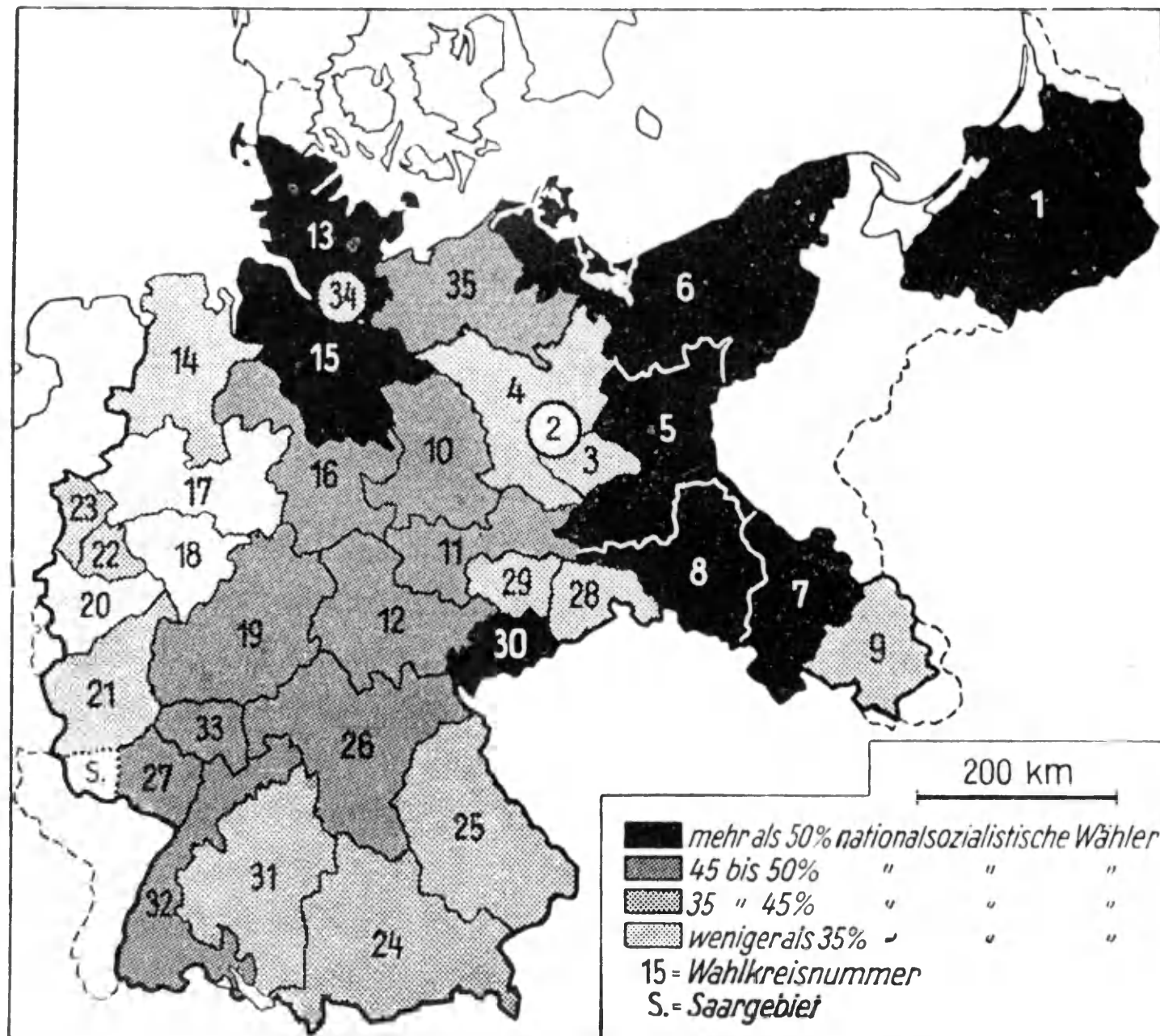


Adolf Hitler

First issue of the "Illustrated Observer" at the
Weimar Party Convention, 1926.
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.
Leipzig, 1939, p. v.)



Poster of the 1928 Campaign of Mjolnir
(Bibliographisches Institut, Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.
Leipzig, 1939, p. v.)



Verteilung der Hitlerwähler am 5. März 1933

DISTRIBUTION OF HITLER VOTERS ON

March 5, 1933

- (1) More Than 50% nationalsocialist voters
- (2) 45 to 50 per cent " "
- (3) 35 to 45 " " "
- (4) Less than 35 per cent nationalsocialist voters
- (5) Number of electoral districts
- (6) Territory of the Saar

NAMES OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Ostpreussen | 18. Westfalen-Sued |
| 2. Berlin | 19. Hessen-Nassau |
| 3. Potsdam II | 20. Koeln-Aachen |
| 4. Potsdam I | 21. Koblenz-Trier |
| 5. Frankfurt and der Oder | 22. Duesseldorf-Ost |
| 6. Pommern | 23. Duesseldorf-West |
| 7. Breslau | 24. Oberbayern-Schwaben |
| 8. Liegnitz | 25. Niederbayern |
| 9. Oppeln | 26. Franken |
| 10. Magdeburg | 27. Pfalz |
| 11. Merseburg | 28. Dresden-Bautzen |
| 12. Thueringen | 29. Leipzig |
| 13. Schleswig-Holstein | 30. Chemnitz-Zwickau |
| 14. Weser-Ems | 31. Wuerttemberg |
| 15. Osthannover | 32. Baden |
| 16. Suedhannover-Braunschweig | 33. Hessen-Nassau |
| 17. Westfalen-Nord | 34. Hamburg |
| 35. Mecklenburg | |



CHANCELLOR HITLER DELIVERS HIS ADDRESS ON THE GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, BEFORE THE REICHSTAG ON 17 MAY 1933.

(General von Eisenhart Rothe, Deutsche Gedenkhalle
(Berlin & Munich: Deutscher National-Verlag, 1934)



NSDAP PARTY DAY IN NUREMBERG, 1933, GIANT
DEMONSTRATION OF THE HITLER-YOUTH IN THE NUREMBERG
STADIUM.

(General von Eisenhart Rothe, Deutsche Gedenkhalle
(Berlin & Munich: Deutscher National-Verlag, 1934)



NSDAP PARTY DAY IN NUREMBERG, 1933, THE GREAT GATHERING
OF THE OFFICIAL GUARDS ON THE NUREMBERG AIRFIELD. THE
FUEHRER (HITLER) PASSES IN FRONT OF THE FLAGS

(General von Eisenhart Rothe, Deutsche Gedenkhalle
(Berlin & Munich: Deutscher National-Verlag, 1934)



NSDAP PARTY DAY AT NUREMBURG 1933, CHANCELLOR HITLER
AND ERNST ROEHM REMEMBER THE FALLEN DURING THE DEM-
ONSTRATION

(General von Eisenhart Rothe, Deutsche Gedenkhalle
Berlin & Munich: Deutscher National-Verlag,
1934)



HITLER SPEAKING TO THE FARMERS AT THE GERMAN
HARVEST THANKSGIVING (FESTIVAL)

(WELTBILDERSCHAU Magazine, March 1934)

Reichstag für Freiheit und Frieden
Wahlkreis Franken

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

Adolf Hitler

Heß Frick Göring Goebbels Streicher
Hellmuth Wächtler

